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Contents for August 1940

NEWS IN REVIEW	514
<i>H. M. Olmsted</i> —City, County, State, 514; <i>Elwood N. Thompson</i> —Citizen Action, 515. [News sections devoted to County and Township Government, Taxation and Finance, and Proportional Representation, omitted from this issue.]	
EDITORIAL COMMENT	<i>A. W.</i> 516
THE WOMAN WHO WOKE UP A CITY	<i>Miriam Roher</i> 518
LAWMAKER—LEGISLATOR OR LOBBYIST?	<i>Belle Zeller</i> 523
SPOKANE'S CIVIC HORSE TRADER	<i>Frank J. Taylor</i> 533
CITIZEN ECONOMY MOVEMENTS—WHY AND HOW	
	<i>Charles M. Kneier</i> 535
TOWN MEETING VS. TOWN MANAGEMENT ..	<i>Thorsten V. Kalijarvi</i> 540
INDIANA EXPERIMENTS WITH CENTRAL BALLOT COUNT	<i>James Kirk Eads</i> 545
MANAGER GOVERNMENT BOON TO VIRGINIA COUNTY	<i>Edward Overman</i> 549
CITY MANAGER PLAN AT WORK	553
CONTRIBUTORS IN REVIEW	557
BOOKS IN REVIEW	<i>Elsie S. Parker</i> 565

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NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

News in Review

City, County, State
Edited by H. M. Olmsted

Merit System Census Shows Notable Progress

Municipal systems increase 30 per cent; counties show little interest in subject

A NATION-WIDE census of the merit system made by the Civil Service Assembly of the United States and Canada shows an increase of nearly 30 per cent in the number of municipal merit systems during the last three years. A great number of state and federal employees were also brought under civil service provisions.

A total of 869 cities now have at least a portion of their employees under some type of merit system, whereas three years ago the number stood at 674. Most of the municipal systems adopted during the past three years have been in cities of less than 100,000 population. Eighty per cent of the larger cities already had civil service in 1937.

Since 1937, when the assembly made its first census, eight states have adopted merit system laws for the great majority of their employees, bringing the total number with civil service to seventeen. Since that year two additional states adopted laws applying to a limited number of employees, and all states, by recent amendment to the social security act, are applying merit system coverage to public assistance and unemployment compensation employees.

In the federal government approximately 128,000 employees have been

placed under the classified civil service since 1937, mainly by executive order. The percentage of federal employees under the merit system, which had declined from 80 to about 60 per cent in the last decade, is now up to more than 70 per cent.

Extension of civil service into county jurisdictions has been slight. Only 173 of the 3,053 counties now operate under some form of civil service, four of the adoptions occurring within the past four years.

The business depression, which helped focus citizen attention on government, and the establishment of many new governmental services with consequent interest in methods of recruiting public employees are factors credited with making the merit system a live issue. Nation-wide campaigns by various civic organizations and professional and public employee groups have provided considerable stimulus, along with the report of the President's Committee on Administrative Management, which called for an extension of the merit system "upward, outward, and downward to cover all non-policy determining posts."

The complete list of jurisdictions with partial or entire civil service coverage of employees in the assembly census totals 1,099. This includes the federal government, the forty-eight states, 869 cities, 173 counties, and eight special districts. In addition the territory of Hawaii and four Hawaiian counties, Puerto Rico, the commonwealth of the Philippines, and certain departments of the District of Columbia are operating under merit systems.

Michigan Votes on Civil Service in November

Michigan voters will have an opportunity in November of expressing
(Continued on page 559)

Citizen Action

Edited by Ekwood N. Thompson

Seattle Membership Passes Thousand Mark

Drive built on personal contacts; members given part in program of local Municipal League

OUR first step toward building the membership of the Municipal League of Seattle was to **put the program into salable form**. We have found that members are usually sold on one or more of a limited number of items in the program. Consequently, we made a condensed, readable, and understandable statement of the program and the purposes of the organization.

The second step in membership work was to **weed out the delinquents** and bring the membership down to a bona fide and "live" list of those who pay to show their good faith. Membership selling begins with these members, for if new members are to be obtained, the present membership must be informed and sold upon the organization. It has always been our practice to include the members in all campaign mailings and they are first to receive new literature.

The third step in membership building is the prospect. While it is useless to ask every member to get a member, it proved a good idea to **ask members, especially leaders in the organization, to submit lists of those who should be members**. Eighty-one of our members responded to our request for lists of friends, and that produced the nucleus of our membership prospect list—1,500 of 2,700 names.

We believe our prospect files should be as clean and well kept as the ledger

file of members. We have the master lists alphabetically arranged, with sectional lists of prospects according to geographic areas. Consequently, if John Doe is willing to do some membership work for us, we can give him prospects in his own building or he can call on his neighbors in the industrial area.

After the prospect list had been built, the mail campaign started. We used the weekly issue of the *Municipal News* as the basis for our membership selling. We followed this with printed literature—only the best in printing and art work should be used, because, after all, our literature is speaking for us, and interprets the type and character of the organization.

As members suggested prospects, from ten to fifty each, we asked them to **write personal letters** urging these prospects to join the league. If they weren't able to write the letters, we did it for them. Where we could get the sponsor to follow up by phone or personal call, this was done. About half of our sponsors made a personal follow-up. Our membership man arranged the details of getting out letters and follow-up. Where the sponsor could not or would not follow, the staff man made calls for the sponsor in his name.

We found the growing list of new members, as released through our *Municipal News*, the best selling material—there seems to be an inclination to get on the bandwagon when the parade starts to move.

We followed this good start with new lists of prospects submitted by additional sponsors and a development of prospects on the part of the staff itself.

During May we topped off our membership work for the year 1939-40 with a **"blitzkrieg" membership drive** of half a day. After a breakfast meeting fifty-one volunteer workers brought in 114 members by the noon luncheon.

(Continued on page 561)

National Municipal Review

Editorial Comment

Hatch Act No. 2, Boon to Politics

IN THE enactment of the second Hatch bill, extending to those state and local government employees who are paid wholly or in part from federal funds the limitations on political activity which were placed last year on federal employees, political leadership has taken a vigorous stride toward catching up with public opinion.

"Politician," in a self-governing country, ought to be a word connoting distinction and honor. Is it? We elect a person to office by democratic action. He is our representative. But almost at once he is referred to as "a politician," and the tone of voice used is not one of trust and approval.

Is it just the dumb perversity of the people which causes this situation?

By and large, the common run of people have never approved of the spoils system, the compulsory doorbell ringing, electioneering, petition circulating activities of public employees at any level of government—national, state, or local. They have been deeply sickened by the spectacle of the "kick back" of a percentage of public employees' salaries to political organizations.

These conditions, as they have been allowed to develop, have progressively weakened the average person's faith in the democratic system. Increasingly he has felt that the big issue lay between the great body of unorganized and unled people and the professional politician's attitude

of personal ownership of public affairs. Why talk about the indifference of citizens toward their right to vote when on every hand they see the professional boasting openly about his ability to swing the precinct by methods designed to thwart free popular expression?

There are some who claim that both Hatch acts place improper restrictions on the civil rights of public employees. It is pertinent to examine the motives, pasts, and ambitions of those who support this view. The simple truth is that the new restrictions are no more stringent than those which have regulated classified employees in the federal government for a quarter of a century. Has there been any improper interference with any wholesome activity on their part? Tommyrot!

Not only in theory but in fact the people as a whole have overwhelmingly demonstrated, every time they have been given a clear opportunity to do so, that they favor the merit system in civil service and everything that this system implies. Repeatedly, they have thrown out local and state political organizations distinguished chiefly for their use of public offices, public funds, and public time for political activities; and they would have done so more often were it not for the various means employed to keep this question from becoming a real issue.

In the spring of 1936 a Gallup poll showed 88 per cent of the people of

the United States in favor of removing the political taint from public service. This is an amazing majority on any question. It might be doubted whether a larger majority could be obtained on the classic question, "How about sin; are you for it or against it?"

Whether in the long run the Hatch acts will be beneficial or injurious to the basic principles which we are now so concerned about preserving remains to be determined by the manner in which they are enforced. Doubting Thomases may wonder whether there will be some "gentleman's agreement" or other subterfuge to keep the full force of the new law from making itself felt down through some of the most important sinews of important political arms, but there are many promising signs that enforcement will not be too difficult and will, in many respects, be automatic.

Politically active state employees who fall within the affected classifications are already taking steps to dis-

cover how drastically they must modify their conduct. And political parties are sure to police one another pretty carefully, with the result that the comparatively small force of 250 investigators which probably will be set up ought to be able to handle the job. Furthermore, there is not likely to be much willingness to create sure-fire issues by thumbing noses at an overwhelming public opinion which now has such a good criterion for formulating sound judgment on public figures.

The final result surely will be wholesome in more ways than one. The operation of the law will contribute, in the first place, to a lessening of the apathy of many voters with the "what's the use?" attitude; and it will be good, not bad, for political organizations. Plenty of smart politicians are coming to learn that good government is good politics; and the real statesmen among our political leaders will welcome an opportunity to depend on issues and principles rather than on political skullduggery for success.

A Permanent Emergency?

A RECENT decision by New York State's highest court upheld the right of a community to "deport" a family on relief which had come from another state.

This decision is particularly significant in view of the natural wish of many "reliefers" to live in communities and states where relief standards are high. It is claimed, for example, that in the last few years there has been a large migration of indigent persons from the

south into various cities to the north, particularly Washington. And there have been the other more obvious mass migrations in other parts of the country. On the other side of the picture, industries have walked away from their trained employees in search of cheaper labor elsewhere.

There is still too much inclination to regard relief as a passing emergency to be dealt with in an essentially temporary manner. We have

(Continued on page 558)

The Woman Who Woke up a City

Yonkers housewife—moving spirit in securing P.R.-manager government for her city—becomes member of first council under new charter.

BY MIRIAM ROHER
National Municipal League

MIZ WELTY," beamed the ashman, "You the boss of Yonkers now!"

And that's what happened in 1938 to a diminutive middle-aged housewife who, in 1935, thought government was just something the men-folks grumbled about.

The way it began is already a classic tale in the wacky annals of what the scientists are pleased to call "citizen action." It was dinner time of a certain evening five years ago when a neighbor telephoned Mrs. Harry T. Welty. "Edith," she said, "I want you to come with me to a League of Women Voters meeting."

The League of Women Voters! thought Mrs. Welty. Why, they're just a bunch of suffragettes. "I'm not interested in such things," she told her friend.

"Please—won't you come this once? I hate to go alone."

The neighbor was a "perfectly darling woman" and Mrs. Welty finally consented, to please her.

At the meeting the lady voters were discussing their projected study of the council-manager plan, an item which the National League of Women Voters had placed on its study program for the year. Cannily, as a method of interesting the newcomer, the ladies appointed Mrs. Welty a committee of one to report on the plan at the next meeting.

She'd never heard of the council-manager plan, and she was in awe of the "intellectuals" who comprised the local branch of the League of Women Voters. "So I went to all the libraries and read everything I could lay my hands on. I went down to New York University and talked to the professors. I even went to the National Municipal League."

The manager plan meeting was in the form of a debate and Mrs. Welty knew so much about the manager plan by that time that she won hands down. She was convinced by her own testimony.

Well, she said to herself, that manager plan certainly is a wonderful thing. I don't know whether we need it in Yonkers, but if it's so good we ought to have it whether we need it or not!

In a couple of weeks Mrs. Welty had found out that Yonkers did desperately need it. From then on she was launched. By 1938, after two unsuccessful referenda, Yonkers had adopted the manager plan. By 1939 Edith P. Welty had been elected to the first proportional-representation-chosen city council.

But she still cleans her own house, cooks three meals a day, and conducts chatty negotiations with the grocer, the plumber, and—to be sure—the ashman. She also plays tennis.

Tennis is perhaps the key to the

whole incredible story. Not only does Mrs. Welty play tennis regularly, but she is a mainstay of the local tennis club. After the last war the club fell on hard times and it was feared that the banks would shortly close in on the clubhouse. So for six years Mrs. Welty conducted an annual minstrel show and personally collected \$300 to \$500 on each program. This device saved the club.

It is this technique which Mrs. Welty says she has applied to politics. But it is less a technique than an intensely personal talent with which the lady seems to have been endowed from birth. An incredulous

local politician once said to her, "Lady, you could sell BVD's to the Eskimos!" All her life Mrs. Welty has been selling things to people—not for profit. It hardly matters to her what she is selling, but the sheer joy of talking to people, the simple exuberance of her personality, her tirelessness, make her more effective than a German armored tank. In 1918 it was tickets to a suffragette banquet that she was selling—she wasn't particularly interested in votes for women, but a friend asked her to sell tickets and she sat down at her telephone and did so. Later on it was ads in the minstrel show pro-

gram. Finally it was good will for the city manager form of government.

A New York City newspaperman who interviewed her after her first electoral victory dubbed her "Public Energy Number 1." The title is apt, but perhaps it could be amended to "Public and Private Energy Number 1," for she cleans house as tirelessly as she campaigned for votes. "I never get tired," she says naively. The story of Yonkers' civic renaissance proves it.

Mrs. Welty was faced with a formidable task when she undertook to make Yonkers over. The city is large as cities go—



COUNCILWOMAN EDITH P. WELTY

Yonkers' "Public Energy No. 1"

140,000—and there is plenty of local industry, but geographically and psychologically it is just the northernmost outpost of New York City. The women do their shopping in New York, and the men earn their living in New York. A large slice of the city, which Mrs. Welty calls the "eastern front," scarcely knows that it lives in Yonkers, preferring the fancier appellations of Bronxville and Crestwood. There is also a considerable apartment house colony whose inhabitants don't even get an annual tax bill to remind them of their legal residence.

It is not surprising that for years

the city had been in the grip of two political factions which supplied it with an indifferent brand of government at an exorbitant price.

Mrs. Welty's first plan of political action was of the tennis club variety. She called up all the women she could think of and asked them each to give a tea to which they would invite all their neighbors, and at which she would give a talk about the manager plan. Soon she was talking to four or five different tea parties a week.

Fortuitously, Yonkers has a local newspaper which had long been waiting for a political evangelist. To Mrs. Welty's surprise and delight, the first tea got a double column spread in the *Herald-Statesman*. Every tea thereafter was written up in full.

In April 1936 a delegation of men waited upon Mrs. Welty. They told her she was the answer to their years of dreaming about Yonkers reform, and invited her to join them in a concerted effort. She let them in on her nascent bandwagon. It was the beginning of a formal organization to get a new charter for Yonkers.

At first the City Manager League fastened its hopes on an optional form of government offered to cities by a New York State law. It provided the council-manager plan but not proportional representation. Petitions were circulated for a referendum in the fall of 1936. One day Mrs. Welty met a local politician on the street.

"Pretty smart, aren't you?" he said. "Fixing the referendum for the same time as a presidential election!"

She smiled wisely. Later, she found out that she had inadvertently

set the one date when *everyone* would come out to vote, including the somnolent citizens who didn't realize they lived in Yonkers.

The politicians scotched that one by having the referendum moved to ten days after the presidential vote. Thus the city managerites lost the election. They lost again in 1937 but in the interim they had gained in wisdom. Mrs. Welty realized that their weakness lay in the somnolent eastern front. She talked the problem over with the editor of the *Herald-Statesman* who said, "Mrs. Welty, if you can work out some scheme for creating civic consciousness in those people, I'll give you a story a day!"

"WAKE UP YONKERS"

All the way home from his office she kept saying to herself, "A story a day! A story a day!" By the time she arrived at her own front door, she had a new program mapped out. She sat down at her telephone again and called up the heads of every women's civic and other organization in Yonkers, each of whom had also met the blank wall of indifference in the sleeping sector. "Call a meeting for whatever civic cause you like," she offered, "and have a speaker on any subject. Then let me speak my piece, not necessarily on the manager plan, but on the need for civic consciousness. Invite the apartment house people especially."

They called it a "Wake Up Yonkers" drive, and the result was that in 1938—they were voting on a specially drafted city manager charter *with* P.R.—the total vote in one

sample apartment house alone rose from twelve votes in 1937 to 150 votes in 1938. This time the managerites won. It was then that the admiring ashman spoke.

Mrs. Welty is far from being a boss. For one thing, she realizes that bossdom is hardly the democratic way; for another, the whole battle is by no means won for the forces of governmental light. The present city council, first under the manager plan, is divided between two supporters of the City Manager League, Mrs. Welty and Mr. Robert H. Goodwillie, and three representatives of the two old political factions, now banded together against the managerites. For Mrs. Welty and her male cohort it is a constant struggle not to be taken in by the parliamentary sleight-of-hand at which the majority excels.

A favorite device of this group is to introduce an entirely new proposal at the end of a long tiring evening meeting of the council, tagged with "emergency" urgency. One time the city managerites were talked into voting for an expensive new sewer project in this fashion, only to discover next day that the sewer would serve three people. They have been more wary since then.

But Mrs. Welty is learning fast. She has the good sense to choose her advisers carefully, and offers of free aid, from typing and secretarial work to expert advice on the most technical subjects, have been flowing in to her from dazzled citizens ever since she talked Yonkers out of its coma.

She is also a "natural" politician and a sincere gladhandler. Like the

most experienced hands at the game of politics, she does not carry political grudges into her personal relationships. She can battle her colleagues in meeting and "kid" with them before and after meeting.

But unlike the professional politician, she is devastatingly frank and absolutely unafraid of publicity. One day she was introduced in the corridor of city hall to a city employee of whose activities she disapproved. "Well!" she said, "It's just as well we met!" And she proceeded to give him a piece of her mind.

A TYPICAL WOMAN

Never has the term "municipal housekeeping" been so apt as applied to the activities of Edith Welty. While her approach to city business may be soundly politician-like in many ways, at bottom it is only the approach of an intensely active woman who has for thirty-five years managed a household, successfully brought up three children (the youngest is now 28), acquired two grandchildren, and been active in social life to boot. She is a woman who never compromises with dust in her parlor and would not compromise with dirt in the city hall.

Her approach to some political situations is entirely feminine. There was the time when she discovered her "political" fellow-councilmen in a particularly raw deal. She went to the *Herald-Statesman* and "repeated word for word what they had said." A council meeting was scheduled for the evening of the day the story came out in the paper. She was frankly

reluctant at the prospect of facing her colleagues.

"So I got out all my glad rags," she relates, "I put on all my newest clothes, just as if I were going to some swanky party afterwards. And I walked into that meeting with my head in the air and a big smile on my face."

"Why, Edie, how wonderful you look!" chorused the councilmen, and they showed her gallantly to her seat. Not a word was said about the newspaper story. Politician had met politician on equal ground.

Sometimes she meets a political situation with two approaches: one politician-like, one entirely feminine. When the public works department laid off thirty of its workers for reasons which Mrs. Welty considered unfair, first she wrote to a state civil service commissioner for an opinion on the legality of the dismissal, and then she hired four of the men to take turns at caring for her garden and doing the "heavy" cleaning in her home. She got her husband, who is an executive of the New York Central Railroad, to hire three of the rest.

Her husband has capitulated to his wife's activities, first with resignation, now with active coöperation. During those first two years of the battle for the manager plan, her daughter expressed the opinion of the whole family: "Oh, Mother, you're wasting your time." It was merely the view of most of the community. Now the family has swung around with the rest of the city. They are proud and delighted. Mr. Welty has even joined to the extent

of becoming treasurer of the City Manager League. And he bore stoically his wife's short-lived venture with "help" for the house.

Last December, before her induction into the city council, Mrs. Welty hired a housekeeper to take some of the household cares off her own slim shoulders. But the housekeeper "just couldn't seem to cook—at least the way we like it," and the house had no longer so free and easy an atmosphere. One day Mr. Welty said sadly, "When am I ever going to get a decent cup of coffee again." Mrs. Welty seized the excuse with relief, dismissed the housekeeper, and has been happily doing her own housework ever since.

It is not hard to see that Mrs. Welty loves her public job. It is like having an extra-large house to run, and as a special bonus there is the public adulation which she frankly adores. Two years ago a civic organization gave her a medal for being "the most outstanding woman in Yonkers," as determined by a community-wide poll, and she proudly wears it on a chain around her neck. She likes to have the policemen salute her as she drives by in her car—and to return the salute. She beams down the city hall corridor at opposition and supporters alike, and she enjoys the friendly give and take with the newspaper reporters.

Nevertheless, she will warn the voters that she doesn't want to go back to the council for another term unless the managerites are given a working majority. For all her personal zest for public life, her attitude

(Continued on Page 539)

Lawmaker — Legislator or Lobbyist?

New York legislative session of 1940 surrounded on all sides by insistent pressure groups—taxpayers, teachers, firemen and policemen, labor, the chief executive, municipalities all play their part in the legislative mill.

By BELLE ZELLER, Brooklyn College

THE 163rd session of the New York legislature convened on January 3, 1940, with the Republican party, as in the previous year, holding clear majorities in both chambers while the Democratic Governor, Herbert H. Lehman, started the eighth year of his administration. The atmosphere was supercharged with the political portents of a presidential year even before the legislature opened, and continued so throughout the twelve and a half weeks of the session. The organization of both houses was completed with great dispatch since members of the Assembly had already served in 1939, having been elected to a two-year term for the first time under the newly amended constitution.

An integral part of the legislative process is the pressure exerted from three main sources: unofficial organized minorities, legislators as private citizens, and the administrative branch of the government.

During the course of this session 5,741 legislative proposals (4,514 original bills and 1,227 amendments) were assigned to standing committees—thirty-seven in the Assembly and

twenty-seven in the Senate. In the first eleven weeks of the session, the legislature passed and transmitted to the Governor only 271 bills, followed by passage of 952 during the last ten days. When the legislature adjourned on March 31, after an exhausting and continuous session of fourteen hours, it had been passing bills at the rate of one a minute.

The two houses differ with respect to control of bills as adjournment approaches. Senate committees continue in control, but under the rules in the Assembly all unreported bills were turned over to the powerful Rules Committee on March 12, 1940.

The outstanding events of the session centered around the adoption of the new budget. The dilemma here was how to balance the budget without adopting additional taxes. This line of action was followed only after a storm of protests from taxpayers, real estate groups, and chambers of commerce had greeted the Governor's recommendation for a fifteen-million-dollar increase in the personal income tax law of the state. The Governor had worked out his budget plan after many conferences with the Republican leaders of the legislature. When, however, the Republican leaders announced that they would not go along with the Governor, the bat-

The writer is indebted to the staff of the New York Legislative Service and to the many others who, through interviews or correspondence, assisted her in the preparation of this paper.

tle between opposing pressures began in earnest. It was feared that the budget would be balanced by curtailing social services, particularly in the educational field. Careful preparations were then made for what was to be the most spectacular hearing ever held in the State of New York.

"MARCH ON ALBANY"

Some seven hundred individuals representing almost as many different organizations indicated in advance that they wished to be heard. On the day set for the hearing, February 12, the sensational march on Albany began. The Taxpayers Federation, Inc., newly organized in 1938 to coördinate the activities of local taxpayers' associations throughout the state, chartered a special train from New York City for their "march on Albany" to win the "battle of the budget." This was matched by a fourteen-car "save our schools" express filled with teachers, parents, trade unionists, and welfare representatives. Taxpayers and business representatives displayed banners reading: "Taxation caused the Boston Tea Party—must history be repeated," "Free our state from tax slavery," "High taxes are confiscating the home we love—cut the budget," "Stop the flight of business from New York," "Keep the stock exchange in New York." In response, the opposing groups answered with "Save our schools," "You've cut us to the bone! We've come to put meat on it!"

State and city police armed with riot sticks and revolvers watched the delegations as they paraded through the streets of Albany. Seven thou-

sand crowded into the armory where the hearing was held. During the twelve-hour session, members of the committee strolled in and out while loud speakers carried voices to all corners of the huge auditorium. In a spectacular interlude the representative of the New York State Federation of Teachers Unions submitted petitions bearing 300,000 signatures calling for full restoration of state aid to education.

Since both sides were represented in force, their endeavors cancelled each other but if either had fallen down it would have given a greater advantage to the other side; and the hearing placed little dispassionate information before the committee as a basis for constructive legislation.

The public hearing should serve an important function in the legislative procedure. Unfortunately many hearings held in New York State, unlike Congressional hearings, are not of a deliberative nature in which new and pertinent information is given to members of the committee—at least to those members who consider hearings important enough to call—but rather are devices to indicate to the committee the popular force behind a measure. In 1940, however, important hearings at which more light was displayed dealt with the establishment of a tax assessment review board, the establishment of a rating system for employers in the state unemployment insurance law, and the problem of pensions for firemen and policemen.

The hearing on the pari-mutuel racing bill attracted among its opponents a large number of women as

the representatives of organized churches and reform groups, among which were the Women's Christian Temperance Union, the New York Civic League, and the State Council of Churches. Their plea to postpone implementing the constitutional amendment legalizing pari-mutuel betting on horse racing went unheeded after a series of amendments to the original Dunnigan bill brought united support from those who advocated legal pari-mutuel betting. This legislation authorized the only new source of revenue for the state in 1940.

FIRE AND POLICE LOBBIES

A striking feature of the 1940 session was evident in the tremendous strength of certain public employees' groups when organized for pressure purposes. Several bills providing for the reorganization of fire and police department pension systems were introduced by the chairmen of the legislative pension committees, but these, according to the secretary of the Citizens Union of New York, "were all defeated by a most thorough statewide pressure campaign organized by the firemen and policemen."

The strength of the policemen's and firemen's lobbies stems from the indispensable and hazardous nature of the service they perform for the community. Furthermore, fire and police headquarters have long been centers of political and social influence. The 42,000 policemen in the State of New York, organized in their local associations, are represented in the State Police Conference. There are over

150,000 volunteer firemen in the Firemen's Association of the State of New York; while the New York State Firefighters Association, affiliated with the A. F. of L., represents about 20,000 paid firemen in every city of the state.

Locally through the numerous fire companies and police precincts, a vigorous campaign of letter and telegram writing was organized on short notice. Over week-ends committees of firemen, policemen, and lay citizens organized visits to their legislators and political bosses. The State Police Conference circulated throughout the state a specially prepared pamphlet entitled *The Truth about Pensions*. Just before the legislative hearing a leaflet, *City Pensions Held Not in Debt Limit*, was forwarded to every legislator. Firemen and policemen had active support from Mayor La Guardia who appeared at the Albany hearing, and from former Senator and Majority Leader George A. Fearon who continues to wield considerable influence in upstate Republican circles. Although the interests of the vast majority of the public and of all the other civil service groups would have been benefited by the passage of these bills, the least controversial of the pension measures of 1940, when brought to a vote in the Senate, received only six votes to thirty-three in opposition.

The teachers, particularly those from New York City, made unusual use of their forces this year. The New York City Joint Committee of Teachers Organizations, composed of seventy-three local New York City teacher groups, the New York State

Federation of Teachers Unions, and the New York State Teachers Association, led the fight for the restoration of state aid to education.

This energetic campaign on state aid was surpassed by the New York City teachers' lobby when a vigorous attempt was made to enact a salary reduction bill. After Assemblyman Moffatt, chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, was forced to withdraw this salary bill, he characterized the representatives of the Joint Committee of Teachers Organizations as a pressure group "that represents the most unscrupulous, selfish, greedy lobby in the state, coming up here each year with an \$80,000 war chest. . . ." The Democratic minority leader, however, came to the defense of the teachers: "While I do not always agree with them, after all, the place is full of lobbyists—for the utilities, the chambers of commerce, and other organizations—so why pick on the teachers? Their representatives do not represent any special interest, they work in the open." The threatened investigation of the teachers' lobby is undoubtedly permissible under a resolution passed by the 1940 legislature. In the meantime, the Joint Committee denies having an \$80,000 war chest or of using any of its funds for illegitimate purposes.¹

In the debate on the Young-Wadsworth bill, providing for contribution by employers to the unemployment insurance fund according to an experience rating system, there

was an unusual line-up of pressure groups in New York. The bill was sponsored by the New York State Employers' Conference (organized in 1935), an association composed of individual employers, corporations, trade associations, and chambers of commerce. About one hundred organizations of seasonal manufacturers in the building, canning, and clothing trades, organized labor, and civic groups coördinated their forces for a united assault upon the bill by setting up the Joint Conference Against Merit Rating. Briefs were prepared by both sides, a heavy letter-writing campaign was conducted, letters to the editors of newspapers were written by representatives on both sides, including William Green, President of the A. F. of L.

In a well attended, five-hour hearing arguments were presented. The Industrial Commissioner appeared in opposition to the bill after a majority of the Advisory Council on Unemployment Insurance in the Department of Labor opposed it. Not even this alliance of capital and labor, however, uncommon in pressure group politics, and the support of the administrative department could keep the bill from passing with a vote that cut across party lines. The campaign was extended to the executive chambers where the bill was finally vetoed by the Governor.

WHAT! NO FIREWORKS?

A spontaneous pressure was staged by Graniteville, Staten Island, when its four hundred inhabitants virtually rose in full force to protest against a bill which banned the sale and

¹*New York Times*, March 31, 1940, and *Bulletin of Joint Committee of Teachers Organizations*, April 15, 1940.

possession of fireworks except at licensed exhibitions. This entire community is dependent upon the single business of fireworks manufacture. A committee representing 150 employees of the fireworks plant called on the Democratic chairman in Richmond County to explain the consequence of closing the plant should this bill become law. In this case, however, the humane argument of reducing casualties won out. Among the groups advocating the new measure were the Legislative Committee on Interstate Coöperation, Conference of Mayors and Other Municipal Officials of the State of New York, and the New York City administration.

CANDIDATES' PROMISES

An increasing number of organizations are following the example of organized labor in exerting pressure through the ballot box by placing the views and records of candidates for public office before their members and the electorate. The Joint Committee of Teachers Organizations published the results of a questionnaire sent to 136 candidates in a special bulletin which was distributed shortly before the election to the 40,000 teachers in New York City. This bulletin urged: "Preserve this record of deliberately made pre-election pledges. It will be invaluable in appraising the worth of successful candidates in the coming election who herein pledge their support to specific school and teacher interests." The *Voters' Directory* of the Citizens Union of New York City, containing nonpartisan information

and recommendations on all local candidates, is distributed extensively each year.

The New York State Bankers Association submitted a series of questionnaires to banks and bank customers on the question of Saturday bank closings. Assemblyman Quinn, who introduced the permissive summer Saturday bank-closing bill which became law in 1939, stated that these polls "demonstrated the great weight of favorable sentiment among banks themselves which counted heavily in softening legislative opposition." The bankers association took no stand on the bill in the 1940 session providing for year-round Saturday closings after polls disclosed a difference in sentiment between bank customers and banks. The bill then died in committee.

Bills to curb abuses in installment buying sponsored by the Legal Aid Society did not pass the legislature in 1940. However, the mere introduction of these bills, the publication of a report by the State Attorney-General, and the fear of adverse publicity have led to the establishment of a committee representative of groups that write installment-buying contracts. This committee, with the coöperation of the Legal Aid Society, is studying the problem preparatory to the drafting of a new bill.

While it is impossible to measure statistically the influence of organized minorities, these groups do report on the results of their legislative activities. That the State Charities Aid Association has the confidence of the legislature and the Governor in New York can be seen from the

following summary: In 1940, SCAA expressed its opinions on 103 public welfare, public health, and mental hygiene bills. This association supported eighteen bills of which fourteen became law, and opposed eighty-five of which none became law. The Joint Committee of Teachers Organizations endorsed thirteen bills of which three became law, and opposed twenty-one bills of which only three were enacted.

The New York State Committee of the National Municipal League, representing civic groups and political science faculties throughout the state, advocated a short program of thirteen important changes in the structure and operating methods of government, of which two became law, one was vetoed, and several gained standing for the future by passing one house. The Citizens Union of New York City favored 306 bills of which ninety-six became law, and opposed 329 of which only thirty-five were enacted.

The Conference of Mayors and Other Municipal Officials, representing approximately two hundred cities and villages in New York, expressed opinions on 155 bills introduced into the legislature of 1940. The conference approved sixty-one of which twenty-five became law, and disapproved ninety-four of which only four were enacted. Of the twenty-seven recommendations in the conference's legislative program, eight became law. In the legislative program of the City of New York, no longer a member of the Conference of Mayors, there were seventy-two

bills, of which as many as forty-four became law.

The Association of Towns, representing the towns in New York State, had an equally powerful influence on legislation affecting towns.

LEGISLATORS' INTERESTS

Without the aid of intermediaries, the legislators in themselves constitute a powerful pressure group. Their salaries are but \$2,500 a year plus limited traveling allowances. They depend to a large extent upon income from their private vocations. In the New York legislature of 1940 there were ninety-two lawyers, twenty-one farmers, seventy-three businessmen, fifteen in miscellaneous occupations. The material interests of lawyer-legislators undoubtedly played a part in the defeat of the proposal to amend the proposed new judiciary article of the constitution. It is perhaps significant that the senators voted three to one against the bill recommended by the Judicial Council of the State of New York to provide an alternative method of removing judges by giving such authority to the Court of Appeals. It was expected that this bill would pass because of the adverse publicity which followed the failure of the Senate after a costly session to remove Kings County Judge George W. Martin. On the basis of strong evidence presented by a special prosecutor, Governor Lehman had recommended the Judge's removal.

Forty-nine veterans of the wars of the United States served in the 1940 legislature. These veteran-legislators, organized in the Veterans' Conference, prepare a legislative program

each year based on the suggestions of the organizations of veterans in Albany. Many legislators are active organization members and some hold important offices. This unique set-up gives these organizations an obvious advantage that results each year in the passage of numerous bills granting special privileges to veterans. For example, thirteen bills sponsored by the American Legion and the Veterans' Conference passed the legislature in 1940—however, the Governor vetoed nine of these.²

EXECUTIVE PRESSURE

The legislature was subject also to pressures from the executive and administrative branches of the government. Aware that factional wrangling might bring disastrous results, particularly in a presidential year, the Democratic legislative leaders looked to the Democratic Governor for leadership. The chairman of the Republican State Executive Committee, Edwin F. Jaekle, was on hand throughout the session to consult with legislative leaders on the difficult fiscal situation in the state. He played an active part in the

lengthy and involved negotiations on the pari-mutuel racing bills.

The effect of legislative action on Thomas E. Dewey's presidential candidacy was not lost sight of by the Republican factions.³

During the legislative session, executive leadership was displayed especially through the messages of the Governor to the legislature, his many informal conferences with legislative and administrative officers, and his threat of the veto. The legislature acquiesced when the Governor in a vigorous message objected to the substitution in the pari-mutuel racing bill of a four-man bipartisan agency for the three-man racing commission appointed by the Governor without party limitation.⁴ The State Racing Commission participated in all stages of negotiations on this important bill.

The theory of separation of powers notwithstanding, the administrative departments and agencies are an active, integral part of the legislative process in New York. They constitute powerful pressures on the legislature and the Governor because the latter necessarily lean heavily on their advice even when the legislature is controlled by a different party.

The following describes briefly the general procedure of administrative bodies in the lawmaking process:

The State Tax Commission under the provisions of the tax law is required to recommend to the leg-

²The majority leader in the Senate, Joe R. Hanley, was Past Department Commander of the United Spanish War Veterans, and Assemblyman Harold C. Ostertag, Past Department Vice-Commander, American Legion. The veteran organizations are: American Legion, United Spanish War Veterans, Grand Army of the Republic, Disabled American Veterans of the World War, Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States, Jewish War Veterans of the United States, Catholic War Veterans, Army and Navy Union of the United States, Italian-American World War Veterans of the United States, Polish Legion of American Veterans.

³For example, the supposed views of Mr. Dewey on the subject were responsible for the failure of the Senate and Assembly to get together on a measure to limit wire-tapping.

⁴See *New York Times*, March 26, 1940, for text of this message.

islature changes which it deems desirable in the tax law. Accordingly, prior to each legislative session the State Tax Commission considers various suggestions made for the improvement of the tax law, and accepts or rejects these proposals. If it accepts the proposal, the commission, through the Bureau of Law, prepares the bills, together with explanatory memoranda. These bills are introduced in the legislature at the request of the State Tax Commission. . . . If the bill reaches the Governor, Commissioner Graves . . . writes the Governor recommending executive approval and giving the various reasons in support of the measure. . . . There are, of course, many bills introduced in the legislature affecting taxation which are not introduced at the request of the Tax Commission. In accordance with the usual practice of the Governor, he consults with the various departments affected, so that the State Tax Commission is called on to advise the Governor as to its opinion with regard to all measures that come before him affecting finance and taxation.⁵

The Conservation Department presents a unique situation because of the large number of bills introduced each year affecting its operations. Many legislators, particularly from the thinly populated districts, build up their legislative records by introducing and pressing to passage trivial fish and game laws. In 1940, 172 such bills were introduced and of this number the department presented forty-nine.⁶ The department also

maintains a representative at the Capitol throughout the session. Its system of memoranda on departmental and non-departmental bills is continuously in operation throughout the legislative session and the thirty-day period thereafter. The memoranda of the department are indispensable, particularly to the Governor, who receives many conflicting conservation bills. The Governor almost invariably follows the department's recommendations.⁷

The following communication from the Commissioner of Social Welfare explains some of the activities of that department in the passage of the new social welfare law consolidating the old public welfare and state charities laws:

During the past year and a half a preliminary, tentative draft of such a codified and revised statute was given circulation throughout the state; five public hearings were held on it, and much work done to make it a truly representative social welfare law. Out of this year and a half of work came the decision to consolidate the two main welfare laws. . . . Because of your

of fish and game are made by the state conservation and game departments. In New York this authority rests with the legislature. Recent governors of New York have not succeeded in getting legislative consent to extending the rule-making powers of the Conservation Department.

"Seventeen non-departmental bills which received unfavorable memoranda from the department were passed by the legislature. All of these were vetoed except one. This bill involved a minor change in the law regulating the shooting of dogs chasing deer. The wild life lovers were ranged against the dog lovers. The department stood with the former, while the Governor, an ardent dog lover, went along with the latter.

⁵Letter of Deputy Commissioner and Counsel, Department of Taxation and Finance, July 5, 1940.

⁶Of these forty-nine bills, thirty-two passed the legislature, of which thirty-one became law. In a majority of the states minor regulations governing the taking

interest in and close contact with the welfare laws, we are sending you under separate cover a bill which represents this consolidated statute. Identical bills have been introduced in both houses. . . . Will you give this bill your close consideration; will you discuss it with interested groups in your community and will you let us have your comments, criticisms, and suggestions on or before March 1, 1940. As you know, the legislature is making every effort to adjourn at an early date, and comments on the bill are requested promptly in order to insure careful consideration.⁸

The Department of Audit and Control, through the Bureau of Municipal Accounts, submits annually memoranda on some three hundred local bills dealing with taxes or finances of the municipalities. In fact, the recommendations of this bureau are prepared in collaboration with the Governor's Counsel.

When the Governor does veto administrative bills, it is presumably because the department attempted to extend its administrative authority without taking into consideration the financial cost.

UNOFFICIAL CONFERENCES

An important phase in the legislative procedure of administrative departments revolves around the series of conferences held with representatives of unofficial organized groups to get their ideas and to overcome their opposition to administration bills. For example, the State Liquor Authority prepared about ten bills amending the alcoholic beverage control law. These were explained to

about fifty persons representing the different branches of the liquor industry and the press of the trade at a conference called by the Liquor Authority in January 1940.

Each year important departmental proposals are recommended by the interim investigatory commissions and committees created by the legislature. They are composed of members from the legislature, administrative departments, and organized groups. In 1940, \$436,000 was appropriated to finance the work of nineteen such investigatory bodies.⁹ This, however, was far less than the usual amount appropriated.

It is interesting to speculate on the relative influence of administrative departments and organized minorities in lawmaking. Leslie Lipson, speaking of New York State, has stated that, "There is little chance of such a bill (one to which an administrative department head objects) passing the legislature. The committee chairmen know that if the department head disapproves the governor will almost certainly veto. Hence they will not even report the measure out of committee."¹⁰ A large percentage of bills are, of course, not reported out of committee.

THE VETO POWER

The administrative officer has an

⁹The sum of \$150,000 was appropriated for the World's Fair. Six commissions were newly created, the other thirteen are continued bodies.

¹⁰*The American Governor*, 1939, pp. 211-212. This is in contrast with D. D. McKean's conclusions on New Jersey: "When administrative groups conflict with outside groups the legislature is apt to follow the outside organizations." Cf. *Pressures on the Legislature of New Jersey*, 1938, p. 151.

⁸Dated February 9, 1940.

THE LEGISLATIVE RECORD OF ASSEMBLYMAN ROBERT F. WAGNER, JR.
NEW YORK STATE LEGISLATURE, 1940

<i>Subject of bills introduced</i>	<i>Source of bills</i>
Civil rights law, intercepting messages	New York State Federation of Labor and Governor's program
Labor law, industrial hygiene division	State, County and Municipal Workers of America—C.I.O.
Labor law, five-day week, state employees	State, County and Municipal Workers of America—C.I.O.
Workmen's compensation law, N. Y. City employees	State, County and Municipal Workers of America—C.I.O.
Labor law, minimum wage, domestics	New York Women's Trade Union League
Constitution, water power, sites	Democratic party program
Business law, securities commission	Own bill
Insurance law, life insurance, housing	Own bill
Bank law, savings banks, housing	Own bill
Educational law, custodial employees, N. Y. City	State, County and Municipal Workers of America—C.I.O.
Health law, consumers' bureau, establishment	American Labor party program
Constitution, consumer department, state government	American Labor party program
Housing law, notes, federal projects	United States Housing Authority
Educational law, health service, vocational	New York State Federation of Labor
Housing law, authority, agreements	United States Housing Authority
Educational law, practice of nursing	Organization of Nurses Affiliated with A. F. of L. and C.I.O.
Labor law, sick leave, civil service	All civil service groups
Public welfare law, medical care, hospitals	Temporary Commission on Long Range Health Program
Health insurance system, establishment	American Association for Social Security
Civil service law, employment, residence	Civil service groups affiliated with A. F. of L. and C.I.O.
Workmen's compensation law, silicosis, etc.	New York State Federation of Labor
County government, commission to study	Own bill—originally sponsored by Governors Smith and Roosevelt
Educational law, vocational schools	New York State Federation of Labor

*The record of Mr. Wagner was selected for presentation here because this information, which, in the case of most legislators, is usually difficult to secure, was made available with the assistance of the New York Legislative Service.

even greater influence with the governor, to whom, in most cases, he is directly responsible, and to whom he can present his arguments more frankly and calmly after the bills get into the executive's hands. In New York governors exercise the veto power energetically. In 1940, 28 per cent of the bills were vetoed.¹¹ "I should judge," writes the Governor's

Counsel, "that in about 90 per cent of the bills the department's recommendation is followed by the Governor."

There are some who cry that the ever increasing lobby army is burning the bridges between the voter and what he voted for. The remedy does

these years (1921, 1922, 1935) was the same party in control of the governorship and both houses of the legislature. However, this did not result in a smaller average percentage of bills vetoed.

(Continued on Page 544)

¹¹During the twenty-year period (1921-1940) New York governors vetoed an average of 22.8 per cent of bills passed by the legislature. Only during three of

Spokane's Civic Horse Trader

One man's fifty years of devotion to bigger and better parks and playgrounds increases park areas a thousand per cent; war on signboards, garden contests, among projects sponsored by Aubrey White in efforts to make Spokane "the city beautiful."

By FRANK J. TAYLOR

AUBREY WHITE'S the best civic horse trader in town," a citizen of Spokane, Washington, told me. "By talking individuals and corporations out of 1,500 parcels of land he's given us more park area per capita than any sizeable city in America."

Not so long ago the banks of the Spokane River, which meanders through the very heart of Spokane, were an eyesore of dumps, dilapidated buildings and squatters' hovels. Today the city has acquired over 80 per cent of that land and converted it into beautifully landscaped parkways. There is a public park or playground within five minutes walk of every home. And promotion of home gardening has won Spokane first prize as the "City Beautiful" in national contests four years running. For all these accomplishments energetic, seventy-six-year-old Aubrey White is responsible.

White arrived in Spokane over half a century ago, a young down-easterner from Maine. On days off from his bookstore job he explored every woodland, dell, and river bend in and around Spokane. He made a map of his wanderings and, for fun, indicated the areas that he thought should be parks in the Spokane of the future.

After acquiring a modest fortune in the east as representative of Spokane mining and railroad interests, White returned to Spokane to find

the city in the midst of a building boom. At a mass meeting to organize a "150,000 Club" to boost the city's population to that figure, White, to everyone's amazement, opposed the idea.

"What we need to do," he told the meeting, "is to make Spokane a better place to live. We ought to start on our park system now, so that later we won't have appalling expense tearing down blocks of buildings to make parks and playgrounds." His enthusiasm was so contagious that a "City Beautiful" club was formed. Before long, the people voted a \$900,000 bond issue for parks.

His first move as chairman of the nonpartisan park board of outstanding citizens was to have landscape architects lay out a fifty-year park development program. To his pleased surprise, 85 per cent of the sites recommended by the experts appeared on the map of proposed parks which he himself had prepared years before.

In seven years the \$900,000 was all in parks and the board's work was done.

But not Aubrey White's. With no official standing, he became Spokane's one-man voluntary park board. Systematically seeking owners of still more land that he wanted, he dickered for cheap prices. Whenever he found a bargain, White went to some rich Spokane citizen. "If I had five hun-

dred dollars more I could get that land for a city park," he explained. Usually he got it. Before long, he had developed a sure-fire list of donors: "my powerhouse," he calls them.

GIFTS OF LAND

A good many acres of the river land he wanted were old railroad rights of way, and power company or paper mill water-power sites. After the boom collapsed, it became fairly easy to persuade owners that if they gave away land to the park system they would save considerable in taxes and still keep out competitors. This approach netted almost a thousand acres.

A variation in what White calls his "horse trading" is to get tip-offs from tax collectors when property is to be sold for taxes. If it fits into his park scheme, he tells the owner: "You're going to lose the land anyway. Why not sell it to us for seventy-five dollars? We'll assume the back taxes." If the owner accepts, White finds a donor, the land is deeded to the park board, and the tax collector cancels the back taxes, since the property now belongs to the city without the cost and nuisance of foreclosure. By this method Aubrey White has picked up over six hundred parcels.

"You'd never suspect that was one of the worst spots in Spokane," he exclaimed, as we drove by a particularly lovely bit of river-front park. "I bought it twelve years ago for seventy-five dollars."

White also "horse trades" with real estate operators. Built on hills, Spokane has, from a real estate viewpoint, many unusable slopes and

ravines. White asks these as gifts for park and even playground sites, and has thus picked up over four hundred acres. One real estate syndicate alone contributed ninety-eight acres. What they gave away made the rest of the tract so much more valuable that they felt their gift more than paid for itself.

All told, the Spokane park system has grown from 273 acres to 2,727 in White's time. There is, in addition, an equal area outside the city, for which White should be thanked. Known as the Up-River and Down-River Parkway, this area protects the river banks for fifteen miles on either side of Spokane.

GARDEN CONTESTS

White's most effective work has been done during the past decade when, his fortune gone with the boom, and in his sixties, he started anew as garden editor of the *Spokesman-Review* and head of that newspaper's civic betterment section. He launched front-yard and back-yard garden contests, persuading merchants to put up plants, bulbs, and implements as prizes. He inspired so many garden clubs that they formed a federation. He waged war on signboards so effectively that Spokane motorists can drive for a hundred miles over parkways around the city without seeing a billboard or a sign nailed to a tree.

White talked the WPA into letting him have men, and the highway department into lending him equipment, to finish park projects like the Bowl and Pitcher, a picnic ground in a pine-studded bend in the river where 180,000 Spokane people ate outdoors last

(Continued on page 564)

Citizen Economy Movements — Why and How

Last decade has seen formation of numerous local organizations whose main purpose was reduction of municipal government costs; questionnaire throws light on results of such movements since 1930.

By CHARLES M. KNEIER
University of Illinois

THE period since 1930 affords an excellent opportunity to study the objectives, procedures, and results of economy movements in American local government.¹ In the years 1932-1933, especially, there was strong sentiment for reducing local government expenditures, and taxpayers associations and other local organizations were formed to see that this was accomplished. Slash or crash was the doctrine preached by many of these groups; budget-cutting was held to be imperative. It was suggested or implied that the way to accomplish this was by reducing either the number or the quality of the services being performed.

There were many persons who saw in this doctrine a danger, or at least a detriment, to the continued functioning of local governments in a satisfactory manner. Among those who warned against this arbitrary reduction were Professors William

Anderson and Charles H. Merriam, President C. A. Dykstra of the University of Wisconsin, then city manager of Cincinnati, and Harold S. Bottenheim, editor of *The American City*. They pointed out that a boycott of local government would be costly in the long run and that with few exceptions the services being rendered were essential and necessary. The seriousness of a breakdown in these services was stressed and an appeal for considered judgment in reducing governmental expenditures made.

What has been the result of economy movements during the last ten years? Were economy movements during this period directed towards greater efficiency or at retrenchment? Was the demand and also the remedy applied a reduction in governmental expenditures, with little consideration given to the methods by which this was to be achieved, or to the consequences to governmental services? To what extent were services or functions of local governments cut or their expansion retarded, and to what extent is this a result of economy movements, that is, the agitation of organized groups?

Was the curtailment of service the voluntary action of local government

¹As used in this study economy movement refers to those state or local organized groups and associations seeking thrifty administration of public affairs, including retrenchment. Retrenchment as used herein refers to curtailment or reduction without regard to the results on the services or functions of government. Efficiency movements seek to reduce unit costs rather than total costs; their interest is in the quality and effectiveness of operation rather than in the quantity and cost.

authorities, or the result of state legislative action to meet an emergency and not dependent upon any organized economy movements? What has been the place of research bureaus in the economy movement—what has been their goal and how effective have they been?

The answers to these questions would throw light on the results of economy movements during the last decade, and probably upon the value of economy movements generally.

But such answers are difficult since any general picture of economy movements in local government must be unsatisfactory. Not only do variations occur from state to state but also as between cities within a state. Again, it may depend upon the unit of local government under consideration—city, county, township, or school district—and possibly upon its size. Thus it has been suggested that the larger cities resist efforts to curtail the essential functions of government more than smaller ones.² Again there are causal relationships which are difficult of determination.

CITIES RETRENCH

In an attempt to throw some light on the results of these movements in the period since 1930, a letter of inquiry has recently been sent to persons active in the field of local government in the various states. State correspondents of *Public Management* and the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW were used in most cases. Replies were received from fifty-six

persons in forty-two states. Many of the comments which follow will be based upon these replies.

In answer to the question as to whether services or functions of local governments had been cut as a result of economy or retrenchment movements, replies received from thirty persons were in the affirmative and from twenty-six in the negative. Several of those who replied in the affirmative stated, however, that rather than an actual reduction in services, the normal and, in many cases, seriously needed growth and extension of governmental activities had been retarded. Rather than eliminate, the procedure was to pare or, as some expressed it, to starve certain services. It was generally agreed that it was the schools which had been most severely hit by the paring process. In several cases over-all tax limitation laws had necessitated retrenchment by local governments.

One of the desirable results which it might be expected would come from financial stringency, even without the pressure of organized economy movements, would be the adoption of improved practices and procedures in order to make the tax dollar provide more services. In this case, necessity might be expected to be the mother of improvement.

That there have been improvements and that progress has been made during the last decade is unquestioned; but that it has been greater than in the preceding decade, or has been the result of economy movements, is difficult to establish. As to whether economy movements have resulted in improved administra-

²*Municipal Year Book*, Chicago, 1939, p. 399.

tive practices, answers to the questionnaire brought affirmative replies from thirty-one persons and negative replies from twenty-two. Those replying in the negative were of the opinion that the improvement in standards had been only normal, or that the financial stringency was such that the resources of many local governments were cut below the levels where any efficiency might be maintained.

In answer to a question as to whether the results of economy movements had been beneficial or detrimental, thirty-one persons replied that they had been beneficial, nine that they had been detrimental, eight that there had been no results, and five stated that no generalization could be made since the results were different in the various cities of the state.

INCREASED EFFICIENCY

In the period since 1930 there has been an increase in the number of council-manager cities, improvement in the field of personnel administration, greater use of the merit system, in-service training, etc., but in a period when there was need of making the tax dollar buy more services we might have expected greater progress.

The reduced revenues of the depression were met largely by salary cuts or the discharge of employees. Baltimore was the only city of over 500,000 population that did not reduce the pay of employees; the others reduced salaries from 3 per cent to 30 per cent. Salaries were reduced in all cities in the group be-

tween 200,000 and 500,000 population and only 58 of the 310 cities above 30,000 escaped salary cuts.³

Centralized purchasing, which is generally accepted as an efficiency measure, has made gains in the local government ranks in the period since 1930; part of this has been attributed to the needs arising out of the depression. Coöperative purchasing systems through which cities may obtain more favorable prices through increased bargaining power and quantity buying have been set up by legislatures or municipal leagues in seventeen states.⁴

The slow progress in the consolidation of local units of government during the last decade seems especially discouraging to those who accept this as a means of greater efficiency. Despite the attack on the county as being cut to the horse-and-buggy pattern, it resists the efforts of the consolidationists. Neither has much progress been made in the abandonment of townships.

Special mention should be made, however, of the abolition in Oklahoma by a 1933 constitutional amendment of 956 townships as governmental units, and the decrease in the number of townships in North Dakota.

The most encouraging sign in the direction of consolidation has been in the field of education, several states reducing the number of school districts and abolishing one-room schools. No figures are available to show the changes since the time of

³*The Municipal Year Book*, Chicago, 1935, pp. 204 ff.

⁴*Public Management*, December, 1939, p. 366.

Professor Anderson's study⁵ but it is generally accepted that the reduction has been small.

Only seven out of fifty-four replies to the questionnaire reported any reduction in the number of governmental units.

The reallocation of functions as between units of local government and also as between levels of government appears to be another fruitful approach to the question of governmental costs. Little reallocation has taken place and much of it has not resulted from a desire for greater efficiency but because of the inability of certain units to carry costs. Re-allocation to the state has taken place in the fields of education, highways, and relief. In answer to the questionnaire, twenty-two out of fifty-two replies stated that there had been some reallocation of functions.

Have taxpayers organization and other economy movements had as their goal tax reduction or economy through efficiency? In answer to this question replies from representatives in forty-two states brought the following results:

EMPHASIS CHANGES

(a) Twelve reported organized economy movements or taxpayers associations had not been established in any appreciable number; (b) eight were of the opinion such groups had both purposes in mind; (c) twenty-seven were of the opinion that the primary purpose was tax cutting, regardless of the method or results;

(d) eight were of the opinion that the primary goal was economy through improved practices.

Several persons commented that while such groups were first established with tax reduction in view, they had changed and since about 1935 were stressing improved administrative practices. Others stated that economy movements which were interested in cheap government rather than good government had been short-lived, due to a loss of public confidence. In some states economy groups are being re-established with the definite purpose of securing economy through reform in administrative setup and practices.

The danger that a pressure group will demand reduction in local government costs without study or consideration of the facts cannot be measured. Frank W. Herring, executive director of the American Public Works Association, in considering reduced expenditures for public works administration, has said:

The accumulated deficit of maintenance and replacement in many American communities today represents a situation of extreme hazard. Streets, bridges, sewers, water systems, public buildings, and many other highly prized and indispensable physical facilities of community life are slowly but surely going to pot. Not long ago a metropolitan city of more than a million population reported that its rate of replacing wornout streets was but a fraction of the rate at which they were wearing out. Within the past month, another metropolis let it be known that city property of all kinds has been wasting away during the past four years. Smaller communities are in the same boat. Funds available for the preserva-

⁵*The Units of Government in the United States*, by William Anderson, Chicago, 1934.

tion of the value of existing public property are entirely inadequate for the purpose.⁶

The wisdom of such economy should be seriously questioned.

In some cases economy movements have emphasized men rather than methods, seeking to accomplish their objective—reduced governmental costs—by the election of reform officials. Lasting progress does not come from such an approach; as has been pointed out by Lent D. Upson, effective government depends not alone upon men but also upon methods.⁷ Citizen organizations to secure the election of desirable men to office are needed but this is not the effective and lasting work that should be undertaken by an economy movement.

In the past, economy movements or taxpayers organizations have carried an odious implication. Such should not necessarily be the case; interest in and criticism of local government is desirable. The danger lies in unwise and misdirected criticism and pressure to obtain the end desired. If economy movements or taxpayer associations base their work on research and study and seek changes in administrative practices and procedures only after careful study, the stigma attached to them in the past should be removed.

A GOOD COMBINATION

An economy group, if it thus func-

tioned, would become a combination of research bureau and a certain element of militancy not found in our present municipal research organizations. The work of municipal research bureaus has had a sounder basis, and has in most cases been more effective, than that of depression-organized economy groups. Such bureaus are found, however, in only slightly over one hundred cities, so that the need of constructive suggestion and criticism in local government calls for further development of economy movements.

A weakness of the research movement in local government is that of ineffectiveness—failure to use the facts presented. A study showing the amount of research being done in local government, the amount spent for this purpose, and the tangible results would be of interest. Combination of research and militancy in carrying out a program offers the greatest value and usefulness in economy movements.

THE WOMAN WHO WOKE UP A CITY

(Continued from Page 522)

is soundly constructive, and it will not satisfy her to spend one more term talking for the newspapers alone. If she runs again (and there seems little doubt of it) she will say to the electorate: "Don't vote for me if you're voting for me alone—vote for the whole city manager ticket."

The voters will know she means it.

⁶Public Works Engineers' *News Letter*, January, 1936.

⁷Lent D. Upson, "Contributions of Citizen Research to Effective Government," *Annals*, of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, September, 1938.

Town Meeting vs. Town Management

New Hampshire conservatives cling to old-fashioned democracy as practiced in town meetings; no town has as yet accepted provisions of optional manager laws enacted over a decade ago.

By THORSTEN V. KALIJARVI
University of New Hampshire

NEW HAMPSHIRE, like most of New England, has a deep respect and fondness for the political institutions which have served it effectively in the past. Only an overwhelming weight of argument or a breakdown of established agencies will bring about a radical change. The rush to paper-made plans because they possess a siren-like appeal just does not happen.

Students of government who are unfamiliar with this psychological phase of the New England character are unable to understand why, with optional town and city manager laws on the statute books since 1925 and 1929 respectively, not a single one of the two hundred and twenty-five towns and the eleven cities of New Hampshire has availed itself of this form of government.

New Hampshire's local government is based primarily on the town idea, which in all its regalia of town meeting, selectmen, and officers hies back to the earliest settlements at Dover, Portsmouth, Exeter, and Hampton.¹ When the first city, Manchester, was incorporated in 1846, it took over all

duties which normally were performed by the towns. Representation in the lower house of the state legislature may be based on population, but the town is the unit within which the population must live. Numerous other examples might be cited to show that the town idea with all its appurtenances is one of the most fundamental bases of civic life and thought in New Hampshire.

It was quite logical that those who advocated progressive or reform ideas should have turned their attention primarily to the towns. In the legislative session of 1925 Curtis W. Hyde of Lebanon introduced House Bill 281 entitled "An act authorizing towns to establish the office of town manager." This is the first effort in this direction which the writer can find. So strong was the opposition to the measure that when it was enacted into law it was restricted to the town of Lebanon² and carried the title, "An act empowering the town of Lebanon, and such other towns as may hereafter be authorized, to establish the office of town manager."³ It was the prototype for subsequent laws and its wording was in the main identical with the law of 1929. Two

¹Thorsten V. Kalijarvi and William C. Chamberlin, *The Government of New Hampshire*, Durham, N. H., 1939, pp. 215-216, 226.

²This act was approved April 28, 1925.

³Laws of 1925, Chapter 339.

points stood out clearly: (1) The law could only take effect in Lebanon when an article had been inserted in the warrant and the town had voted "to take advantage of the provisions of Chapter 339 of the Laws of 1925"; and (2) a special act of the legislature was required to permit any other town to take advantage of the provisions.

Lebanon failed to adopt the manager form of government and there was no perceptible rush by other communities to embrace it. The 1927 session of the legislature, however, voted to empower the town of Wolfeboro "by vote of the legal voters of said town" to accept the benefits of Chapter 339 if they so desired.⁴

In the 1929 session the legislature passed another "act empowering the town of Wolfeboro to establish the office of town manager" which provided that when the question was submitted to the people, the referendum ballot should read: "To see if the town will vote to take advantage of the provisions of Chapter 339 of the Laws of 1925 as amended and authorize the selectmen to employ a town manager. Yes - No."⁵ In that same session House Bill number 94, introduced by Mrs. Huckins of Plymouth, was reported by the Judiciary Committee "inexpedient to legislate"; and Wolfeboro and Lebanon remained the only towns to be accorded the privilege.

This same legislature, however, liberalized the provisions of Chapter 339 of the Laws of 1925. Two town

manager laws were submitted. Mrs. Gertrude N. Howison of Milford introduced House Bill 45, "An act extending the provisions of Chapter 339 of the Laws of 1925 relative to a town manager, to towns having a population of 2,500 inhabitants." James W. Davidson of Charlestown introduced House Bill 64, "An act authorizing towns to employ a town manager." House Bill 45 prevailed in a new draft and became Chapter 69 of the Laws of 1929 and carried the title, "An act authorizing towns to establish the office of town manager." House Bill 64 was reported "inexpedient to legislate" because it was already covered by House Bill 45.

Before discussing Chapter 69 of the Laws of 1929 it is significant that at this same session Edward B. Haskell of Concord submitted House Bill 293 entitled, "An act establishing a permissive director-manager charter for cities having less than 50,000 population," which appeared finally as Chapter 186 of the Laws of 1929, "An act authorizing cities to employ a city manager." In form and content it is a verbatim adaptation of the town manager plan to cities.

THE PRESENT LAW

The town law now in force, as already noted, is Chapter 69 of the *Laws of the State of New Hampshire passed January session, 1929*, and bears the date March 22, 1929. Its provisions are extended to towns, villages, and precincts, but not to cities or school districts. It may be adopted by any town by a majority vote at

⁴Approved April 14, 1927. *Laws of 1927*, Chapter 245.

⁵*Laws of 1929*, Chapter 295.

any annual town meeting which has been duly warned. The warning may be obtained by the written application of ten or more voters or by one-sixth of the voters in the town. Any town or village which has adopted the plan may rescind it by a majority vote at any subsequent and duly warned town meeting.

The law does not seem to require special action by the legislature as did Chapter 339 of the Laws of 1925. Yet at this same session the form of referendum was prescribed for Wolfeboro and Mrs. Huckins' bill in behalf of Plymouth was reported inexpedient to legislate. The logical conclusion is not that a contradiction exists, but that the Wolfeboro affair was unfinished business and the Plymouth proposal was covered by the new law under which the legislature made the local community the final authority in the establishment and revocation of the manager form of government. This explanation is entirely unsupported by any authority, but it seems to be the only way of harmonizing the legislative action. Where cities are concerned the legislature has always insisted on approving any modification in their charters.

MANAGER'S DUTIES

Once the plan has been adopted by a town the selectmen appoint the manager, who holds office under their supervision and at their discretion. If a village or a precinct exercises this right, the commissioners act in exactly the same capacity as the selectmen do in the towns. The manager may be selected from in-

side or outside the state and should be employed for his education, training, and experience without regard to political beliefs. He must take an oath to perform his duties faithfully, filing a certificate to that effect with the town clerk. He must also execute a bond for the faithful performance of his duties in the amount the selectmen shall determine.

In general his duties are to supervise and administer town property and business, but they may not extend to "warning town meetings, making by-laws, borrowing money, assessing or collecting taxes, granting licenses, laying out highways, assessing damages or any other functions of a judicial character vested by law in the selectmen or other town officers, nor to the supervision of the offices of town clerk and town treasurer. In particular his duties are listed as power: (1) to organize and discontinue departments subject to the approval of the selectmen; (2) to appoint and remove subordinate officials; (3) to attend meetings of the selectmen as they require; (4) to keep full and complete records; (5) to keep the selectmen informed of the needs and conditions of the town, making out estimates and inventories for the efficient conduct of town business; (6) to examine whenever necessary any office or department under his control; (7) to take charge of water works, lighting, police, purchase of town supplies, fire department, sewers, drainage, sprinkling of streets, snow removal, maintenance of parks, commons, playgrounds, and cemeteries, the letting and performance of

contracts for work for the town; (8) to administer poor relief, and to perform such duties as are voted by the selectmen.

He may approve vouchers for money expended by any department under his control and he may be elected or appointed to any office under his control, but he may "hold no other public office except justice of peace or notary public." His salary is fixed by the selectmen or by vote of the town meeting. In case of a vacancy the selectmen should fill the office as soon as possible. Pending a final choice of manager they may appoint some person to perform the duties temporarily.

Chapter 186, which governs city managers, differs from Chapter 69 only in that the majority of voters at any city election may adopt the plan while the city council (or mayor and aldermen in cities which have no council) acts for the cities as the selectmen do for the towns under Chapter 69.

THE PRESENT SITUATION

Barring the agitation of a few progressive minds, the optional town and city manager laws are dead letters on the statute books. No community in New Hampshire has seriously considered adopting the plan. The reason for the indifference of the towns is that decentralized democracy as practised since colonial times through town meetings and town officials has many advantages in the eyes of the citizens of New Hampshire which are not offset by the possible advantages of a more efficient and centralized administra-

tion as represented by the manager type of government. In spite of the apparent merit of the law and the safeguarding of basic town ideals the plan has had no appeal.

Much more activity has been experienced in the field of city management. Two years ago the city of Concord appointed a charter committee upon the suggestion of Public Administration Service, which had just conducted a survey of the city. The result was a compromise between a weak mayor and a city manager, which satisfied few people. The bill was defeated in the 1939 session. Two bills for changing the government of Keene died in the same session. There also has been some demand for a change in the government of Nashua.

The following excerpt from a letter dated June 7, 1940, for which the writer is indebted to Executive Director John D. Langmuir, of the New Hampshire Federation of Taxpayers' Associations, Inc., tells of the program for cities by the most active government reform agency in the state.

"Our State Taxpayers' Federation, however, has adopted as its most important first function the development of two modern city charters. The first would be a strong mayor charter, along the line of the Providence, Rhode Island, charter, with apologies also to Bridgeport, Connecticut. The second would be a city manager charter along the lines of that of Cincinnati, Toledo, and Saginaw, Michigan. Our plan would be to submit two charters to the General Court next year for their adop-

tion as permissive legislation—by this we would mean the state would permit cities to adopt either one of the two charters without reference to the General Court. No city, however, would be compelled to adopt either charter.

"As an alternative in voting procedure we would also offer proportional representation which could be included either with the strong mayor or city manager charter.

"Up to this time we have had very little publicity on this plan of ours although our plan has been adopted unanimously by our State Federation directors. We have made considerable progress on the strong mayor charter and have our ideas fairly well in line for the city manager charter also. It is our hope to have both bills ready by late in this summer at which time we would want to discuss them just as widely throughout the state as possible, getting the maximum of criticisms and suggestions from all interested persons."

These reverberations have not reached the towns, and probably will not do so as long as present conditions persist. New Hampshire prides herself on her democracy, and

one test of that democracy is a share in local government by the citizen. Anything which cuts into that share is looked upon with distrust. The optional town manager law promises to make such an inroad and, judging by its failure to be adopted, the entire burden of proof lies upon its advocates.

LAWMAKER—LEGISLATOR OR LOBBYIST?

(Continued from Page 532)

not lie in the extermination of lobbies and pressure groups or in their rigid control by statutory regulation, even if these suggestions were practical,¹² but rather in encouraging citizen and consumer groups to balance the special interest lobbies by sending more representatives of their own and according all interests equal opportunities to present their views. In the struggle of opposing pressures will be found the surest safeguard for the preservation of democratic institutions.

¹²See writer's analysis of the administration of the New York State lobbying law in *Pressure Politics in New York*, pp. 251-262. For her analysis of lobbying laws in other states, see *State Government*, August 1938.

Indiana Experiments with Central Ballot Count

Elimination of election frauds and provision for efficiency and economy among motives which led to state law providing for central tabulation of ballots within counties; precinct counts unnecessary.

By JAMES KIRK EADS
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THE primary count of 1938 shocked the people of Indiana. Election irregularities were numerous; some returns were inexcusably delayed. Certain precincts delivered their returns from twenty-four to thirty-six hours after the majority of precincts had reported. Significantly, these late precinct returns tended altogether too frequently to reduce or even overcome the leads secured earlier by popular insurgents and to establish the priority of the organization candidates.

In previous primaries corruption had not been made a matter of public record because of party hesitancy to demand recounts or expose practices which obviously had been utilized by both sides. In 1938, however, some of the Democratic candidates demanded recounts. The result was the indictment of many election workers of both parties; but none of them were sentenced to prison.

These cases, plus many another doubtful item, caused a popular uprising which resulted in the passage of a law requiring all counties having within their borders cities of the first or second class to tabulate their votes by means of a central count. No longer would five persons, weary after an active day at the polls, be

permitted to count the votes under the unfavorable conditions which usually exist at our polling places. Charles R. Ettinger, Marion County Clerk, sponsored the central count idea at this time and drafted the bill which was finally passed by the General Assembly.

A "central count" is one in which the ballot boxes used at the polls are sealed at 6 o'clock, when the polls close, and brought by car to a central point within the county for tabulation by a staff trained for such work. This year it was required that all boxes be surrendered to the county clerk by 9 P. M. unless some acceptable reason, supported by affidavit, could be given for the delay.

In Marion County (Indianapolis) 300 counters, 150 each from the Republican and Democratic parties, were employed for each of three shifts to tabulate the votes. Seventy-five tables, four clerks at each, were provided. In addition to these three hundred clerks, there were about one hundred assistants serving as judges, watchers, deputy election commissioners, and guards.

Tomlinson Hall was chosen as the place for Marion County's count partly because it possessed a large balcony from which the public might

witness the procedure (provision for admission of the public was considered an additional safeguard to an honest count). Many persons took advantage of the opportunity. During the early days of the count the balcony was comfortably filled with interested persons. Later, small-time political workers and a few mild inebriates took over the voluntary watchers' task.

The 1940 count was begun most ceremoniously with a parade by the color guard of an American Legion Post and speeches by local dignitaries. The ceiling lights were switched off, desk lights snapped on—a dramatic moment. But the clerks had been sitting for three hours and were already fatigued by the time the count began.

COUNTING PROCEDURE

The ballot boxes were securely sealed at the polls by the inspectors and safely stored under guard at the place of central count until they were reached for counting. No attempt was made to complete the counting by order of areas. Each box was taken, in the order received, to one of the seventy-five counting tables. It was then opened in the presence of five people, and the vote tabulated by the four people regularly assigned to that table.

The procedure of tabulation was as follows: One person read aloud from the ballot the name of the individual voted for. Beside him sat a checker whose sole function was to insure the correct reading of the ballot. Two persons, one on each side of the reader and checker, recorded

the votes for the candidates by placing tally marks opposite their names. At the end of each precinct count the tallies were totaled and any discrepancies were located before the crew was permitted to continue with a new set of ballots.

One tally sheet was sent directly to the Board of Canvassers for the preparation of the official returns; the other was sent to the public reading and press rooms. Very few citizens took advantage of the opportunity to inspect the records at this point. No provision was made for a continuous reporting of the progress of the count. Newspapers were allowed to print daily summaries but no bulletins were posted or published.

It was expected that the count would take from three to four days and when the time was extended beyond that period a flood of protests arose. The original plan had been to dispose of the votes from seventy-five precincts by the morning following the election. The plan for central counting appears to make this possible but actually only one precinct had been counted twelve hours after the returns were received; and it took more than twenty-four hours to reach the seventy-fifth.

Slowness in the count was evident not only in Marion County but also in Vigo and Vanderburgh Counties. The protests which arose ascribed this slowness to many causes. The *Indianapolis News*, an evening paper, made sport of the entire procedure and laid the fault "entirely to the way it was being administered." The League of Women Voters, which had sponsored a central count bill in

1935, protested the manner in which counters were chosen. They held that there should be established "definite standards of fitness" for counters "who should be required to demonstrate ability to do this kind of work quickly and accurately." The league, as do many other commentators, remains convinced that the principle of the central count is sound. No organization criticizing the slowness of the count has attacked the principle of the law but many have alleged the system did not receive a fair trial because of politically sponsored incompetence.

In response to these protests the system of counting has been somewhat revised.

A BOXING MATCH

One of the dramatic highlights of the count was the altercation between James F. Cunningham, candidate for county treasurer, and Charles R. Ettinger, County Clerk in charge of the count, over an alleged "counting out." Mr. Ettinger had supported Cunningham's principal opponent in the preceding campaign and in the tense period of the count this appeared sufficient justification for suspicion and eventual attack. Only one blow was struck but it threw the entire counting force into confusion and resulted in a black eye for Ettinger and the issuance of a warrant for Cunningham's arrest. The case is still pending and settlement will undoubtedly not be made in the near future.

Requests from the county clerk for additional police protection in the counting room were refused by the

Mayor who, with the President of the Board of Public Safety, decided that sufficient police had already been assigned. In response to a later charge that the city had failed to cooperate in the matter, Mayor Sullivan said that he assumed the election commissioners had received everything they had asked for in handling the central count.

It would be of interest to learn what were the purposes behind the establishment of this system. First, it was to eliminate election frauds such as those disclosed by the recounts and legal actions which followed the 1938 primaries. Second, it was to provide an efficient and economical method of counting the ballots cast. Third, it was an attempt, perhaps unconsciously made, to weaken control of the party organizations over elections and candidates.

The actual accomplishments of the system are as yet problematical on some of these counts. The extent of fraud in this election is not yet, and may never, be known. It is significant, however, that despite the precedent of 1938 no recounts have yet been demanded although the Democratic contest for county coroner was decided by a mere 61 votes in a total of 48,708 cast for three candidates. It is unlikely that any protest will be filed in this case since the defeated candidate has publicly announced his intention not to seek a recount because of the expense involved.

As to economy, in 1938, according to statistics provided by the County Clerk of Marion County, approximately 99,000 votes were cast there at a total primary election cost of

\$72,422.50—a cost per vote of about seventy-two cents. In 1940 the number of votes rose to more than 119,000 while the cost increased to \$78,982, or sixty-six cents per vote. While both the number of votes and the total cost of the election increased, the *cost per vote* decreased by six cents, this despite the fact that 900, rather than the expected 450-500 candidates filed for delegate to the Republican State Convention.

In the matter of efficiency it is difficult to pass judgment. While we know that it took 1,050 persons five days to perform the same work that approximately 2,500 workers had completed in the last election in three days we do not have any adequate means of reliably comparing their relative merits. In both cases the workers were chosen solely on the basis of party affiliation. It may be, and has been, contended that party affiliation is sufficient qualification for the position of counter since there will be a loyalty to party which will manifest itself in unwavering attention and vigilance lest party votes be stolen. The presence of workers of both parties would thus make fraud in the counting unlikely. There is obviously a grain of truth in this contention but the count by precinct has been carried out in a bipartisan manner for years, not always with the most accurate results.

In the latest primary count wide discrepancies in ability and attitude among the workers were observed almost from the beginning. Some tabulators, as is customary in groups chosen in this manner, were barely

literate, others were troubled by weak eyes or deafness. To avoid a recurrence of this situation, a file catalogue was prepared listing the qualifications and attitudes of each individual employed and a grading of his ability. Those rating low on the scale will not be employed in future counts. Announcement that workers would be graded had the immediate result of speeding up the count. After the preliminary ratings rapid, accurate workers were found and grouped in order that they would not be hampered by the need to work with slower operators. Fresh incentives and better organization both contributed to the efficiency of the tabulation.

The suggestion has been made that voting machines should be used in future primaries. Three counties affected by the 1939 law used machines successfully this year. These were all small counties. Mr. Ettinger states that the machines used in Marion County in general elections are not large enough to carry all the names and that the replacement cost of \$750,000 would be prohibitive.

At the coming session of the legislature there will be an attempt to amend the central count law to close a few doors which have been left open. There was nothing in the original law as to the manner in which the count should be conducted. Procedure and administration were left completely to the discretion of the Board of Canvassers. The experience gained this year has shown the defects in the present method and has

(Continued on page 552)

Manager Government Boon to Virginia County

Six-year trial in Albemarle County brings increased efficiency and decreased costs; consolidation of financial offices, effective budget procedure and tax collection, centralized purchasing, outstanding accomplishments of manager regime.

By EDWARD OVERMAN
University of Virginia

THREE counties in Virginia—Arlington, Albemarle, and Henrico—have applied the manager principle to their governments. In Albemarle County the new form of government has been in operation more than six years. What has been accomplished?

Basically, several fundamental changes have occurred in the mental climate in which the county government operates. In the first place, the attitude that county offices are rewards for successful political activities is not so prevalent. This has been brought about in part by the abolition of the archaic "fee system" for compensating county officers. Also, emphasis has shifted from the notion that county employees are "deputies" of the particular elective officers who hire them for their personal and political allegiance, to the principle that county employees are selected and retained on the basis of merit to serve the whole citizenry.

Simplification of the county's governmental structure, the subordination of several functional and formerly independent agencies to one governing body, the Board of County Supervisors, and the outright abolition of some offices have undoubtedly

made government in Albemarle County more *responsible* to the people than it was under the old system.

The unique feature in the new system is, of course, the existence of a single executive comparable to a city manager—the county executive who is appointed by and is responsible to the Board of County Supervisors. Instead of five popularly elected officers independent of each other and of the county's governing body, the county now has a single executive who has general direction over the administration of all county functions. The Board of County Supervisors has in the county executive the means whereby it can, in the actual day-to-day work of governing the county, be sure that its policies are carried out. It now has the power and the tools of management commensurate with its responsibility.

With a county executive as chief administrator there is no doubt as to what officer the citizens should hold responsible for administrative actions. The opportunities for "passing the buck" which existed in the old system are not found in the new.

Mr. Henry Haden has served as county executive since the creation of the new form and has quietly and

devotedly established a record of service worthy of the best traditions of the manager profession. The so-called "courthouse ring" which opposed the adoption of the new form in 1933 has not attempted to destroy the new system, and the absence of any substantial opposition to the new form indicates that the people as a whole are satisfied with manager government.

FINANCIAL ACCOMPLISHMENTS

What are some of the specific accomplishments which have been made? Doubtless the greatest improvement has been in the field of financial administration. Under the old system the two chief financial officers of the county were the treasurer and the commissioner of the revenue, both popularly elected. Consequently, the Board of County Supervisors had practically no control over the assessment and collection of taxes. Also, the county's largest spending agency, the School Board, was independent of control by the Board of County Supervisors by virtue of the fact that it was appointed by a School Trustee Electoral Board which was in turn appointed by the Judge of the Circuit Court.

Under the new form all financial functions of the county—tax assessing, tax collecting, custody of funds, accounting and purchasing—are consolidated into a department of finance whose director is appointed by the Board of County Supervisors. The School Board under the new system is also appointed by the Board of County Supervisors and serves at its pleasure. When difficulties between the two boards developed over the

appointment of a superintendent of schools, the Board of County Supervisors demonstrated that it was superior to the School Board by forcing the resignation of most of the school trustees.

In his first published report the county executive presented the following figures showing the savings which had been made by the consolidation of the old offices of treasurer and commissioner of the revenue and the establishment of a centralized system of accounting.

COST OF OPERATING FINANCE OFFICES

	<i>Under Old Form</i>	<i>Under New Form</i>
1930-31	\$25,943.00	1934-35 \$ 9,831.75
1931-32	22,673.00	1935-36 7,829.02
1932-33	18,086.00	1936-37 7,633.37
Total	66,702.00	
Less excess fees for 1931	2,516.37	
Net cost	64,185.63	Net cost 25,294.14
Average per yr.	\$21,395.21	Average per yr. \$ 8,431.38

Before the new system went into operation the annual budget was prepared by the county clerk. The county executive now has charge of the preparation and execution of the budget. As the act creating the county executive form says, the county executive is responsible for *proposing* an annual budget, that is, it is his function to consider requests for funds from department heads in the light of the needs and resources of the county as a whole. In preparing the budget he brings to bear on his work the information and experience he has gained by dealing with all phases of the county's government. This was not possible under the old

system. In proposing an annual budget to the Board of County Supervisors the county executive is doing more than a clerical job of assembling estimates submitted by various county officers. The difference is between submitting bare figures to the governing body and presenting it with a well considered financial plan.

Effective budget execution and control over expenditures have been outstanding achievements under the new form of government. The county's financial transactions were audited every year before the new form went into operation just as they are now, but continuing control on the administrative level, that is, control before obligations are incurred, was not made effective until after the new form went into operation. An examination of the county's operating expenses reveals that expenditures have been kept well within budget appropriations and the county has ended each fiscal year with a surplus.

Other improvements in financial administration in addition to better financial planning may be cited. A centralized purchasing system with competitive bidding under the control of the county executive has been established and is undoubtedly more economical than the old method whereby each county officer did his own purchasing. A county-owned repair depot has been set up to service school buses and other county equipment. More effective tax collecting methods are indicated by the fact that the percentage of delinquencies has been reduced in the county from 20.33 in 1932 to 10.57 in 1936, while for the state as a whole the reduction was from 19.62 to 17.85.

What does the future hold for the new form of government? It is a commonplace observation in Virginia that self-government in the localities is rapidly giving way to state centralization. This trend compliments the trend toward federal centralization at the expense of the states. There are signs indicating that Albemarle County, however, has the local initiative and progressive leadership to cope with the problems facing local government. The county has recently built a new office building and paid for it in cash.

A new and spacious 4-H club camp is being planned. Interest in improving the miserable housing conditions in which many county families live is growing. In some cases county funds pay rent for shacks to house relief clients where there are not even minimum sanitary facilities. This condition is, of course, not peculiar to Albemarle County.

Progress is being made in land planning and better land use. There has not been a general reassessment of real property in the county since 1925 and this problem is being worked on.

With all the demonstrable accomplishments and healthy trends under manager government in Albemarle County one would be too optimistic to say that other Virginia counties have profited by Albemarle's experience. Only one other Virginia county, Henrico, has adopted one of the optional forms of county government and applied the manager principle to its government. The accomplishments of the new regime there also offer a concrete example of the advantages of manager government.

The General Assembly which convened last January displayed a rather hostile attitude toward any kind of county government reform. In keeping with its policy of co-operating with existing county officers the Virginia Commission on County Government prepared a third optional form of county government¹ and submitted it to the General Assembly. This form was designed to overcome objections of county officers at the same time preserving the manager principle so far as possible. Unlike the other two optional forms, the new proposal did not abolish any important elective offices. In the committee hearing the theme of the supporters of the third optional form was that it would not disturb the existing political set-up in the counties. Little or no mention was made of the record of the two counties which had gone all the way in applying the manager principle.

The bill proposing the third optional form was defeated. The General Assembly also passed a bill which abolished the Commission on County Government but the Governor vetoed it. All this indicates that there is still great opposition to county government reform in Virginia, at least in official circles.

INDIANA EXPERIMENTS

(Continued from page 548)

suggested changes which would improve and facilitate the counting process.

¹For a description of the optional forms of county government now available in Virginia see "County Government in Virginia," by Charles J. Calrow, NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, March 1938.

The year 1940 will be the first in which it will be possible for election officials to determine exactly the number of voters who have cast ballots in the primary. In the past it has been impossible to get an exact total because mutilated ballots have been separated in the precincts from those accepted and have not been reported as votes cast.

An over-all view of the procedure seems to show that in its initial use a failure to foresee all possible points of difficulty and provide in advance for their elimination caused a definite slowing of the count. Too much was left by the legislators to the inexperienced hands of the Board of Canvassers and too little attention was given to the experiences of other areas which have adopted a similar technique.

Most of the apparent defects of the law and administration have, however, been spotted and can now be corrected. A definite effort is to be made to amend the law to stabilize the procedure in all jurisdictions where the law requires a central count. Eventually the merit principle for the selection of tabulators may be accepted. There seems to be no immediate prospect, however, for this reform.

One suggestion which has been made would remove the need for either central or precinct counts—that primary elections for the major parties be held on different days in order to facilitate the use of voting machines.

But even if no changes are made in the present plan of central counting, it is an improvement over the old method of district counting.

City Manager Plan at Work

Cleveland Lauds Its Neighbor

AMONG the many municipalities which comprise Greater Cleveland, none has a better record for economy and efficiency in government than our neighbor to the east. . . . Like other cities East Cleveland has suffered a decline in income from real estate taxes, which now produce only 51 per cent of what they yielded in 1930. Yet in the past twelve years the city has reduced its debt by \$2,380,000, or 77 per cent.

Such a record bespeaks an able and careful administration, which East Cleveland has long enjoyed under City Manager C. A. Carran.

—Editorial, *Cleveland Plain Dealer*.

Long Beach Collects from Its Oil Wells

THE city of Long Beach, California, to date has received municipal revenues totaling more than \$3,000,000 from the seventy-five producing oil wells on city property. The three-million-dollar mark was reached early in March, two years after the completion of the first well in the harbor area, where all are located. Curtailment holds each well to production of 185 barrels daily, although some of the wells could be 5,000 barrel per day producers. Of the receipts to date, \$1,240,000 has been applied on interest and redemption of harbor bonds. In addition, since last August 1, the municipality furnished without cost 1,335,066,000 cubic feet of gas.

—*Western City*.

Excelsior Springs Progresses

DURING this period of eighteen years with the city manager form of government, Excelsior Springs has made many improvements: constructed a sewage disposal plant and main sewer system at a cost of \$25,000; built two concrete and masonry bridges; paved business streets and acquired property for a large park system. The area of our park system compared to the area within the corporate limits is the largest in the state.

The services of a planning and zoning engineer were employed to set up a zoning ordinance and a zoning board was established for the purpose of conducting and planning for future building.

We are just now completing a program which includes ownership, distributing and housing of the mineral water wells in the city. This is a great undertaking for a city the size of Excelsior Springs, the total cost of which has amounted to \$956,831. This project was built under PWA grant and loan. . . .

Excelsior Springs is in very good financial condition at the present time. Original bonded indebtedness in the amount of \$141,500 at the present has been reduced to \$109,500 and we have an interest and sinking fund reserve of about \$18,000. The tax levy this year is \$1.43 on each \$100 valuation.

Although this may seem high to some cities it must be remembered that Excelsior Springs maintains and carries on public services comparable to other towns of from 10,000 to 15,000 population. This is due to our being a tourist and health-seeker city. This last year our expenditures were \$1,300 under our income and we reduced our operating expenditures by about \$5,500 under 1939.

We feel that the city manager form of government allows the city's business to be carried on in the same manner as any other business of comparable income and expenditures. The running of a city of this size is a full time job. With a part-time mayor it would be impossible to carry on all the functions of city government efficiently and economically. Also, as all appointments with the exception of the clerk, assessor and treasurer are made by the city manager, the employee of the city is more secure in his job, depending upon his ability and not on party or factional alignment. This in itself eliminates a great amount of political unrest.

—Letter from Robert Lightstone, City Manager of Excelsior Springs, Missouri, as quoted in the Washington, Mo., *Missourian*.

Speaking of Good Towns

IN SPITE of the commonness of reports of maladministration of cities it is pleasing to read of one with a reputation of highest order. The city is Lubbock, Texas, which has won for itself the title of "Cleanest Town in Texas" for the tenth successive year. It has a population of more than 20,000. It has the commissioner-manager form of government. It has a municipally-owned electric light plant which pays its dividends into the city treasury. It has the lowest tax rate of any Texas town of its size. It also enjoys the lowest electric lighting rate of any town of more than 1,000 population in the state. Over 1,750 new homes have been built in Lubbock during the past three years. It has no millionaires and nobody talks of depression for it is one of the most prosperous cities in the United States.

—Editorial, Monticello, Iowa, *Express*

City Has Saved under Manager Plan

UNDER the guidance of Mayor L. C Long, and his fellow-commissioners, G. W Rees and Theodore Nusz, the city manager form of government [adopted over a year ago] has given Abilene an economic and efficient administration.

Taxes have been reduced. Streets have been repaired, maintained, and kept clear in all kinds of weather. City park grounds and buildings have been reconditioned and other city buildings have been repaired and put in good shape. Old city bonds are being retired this year. All of these things have been done and yet the total cost for the year to the taxpayer is less than he has been paying . . .

In 1938 the total levy was \$70,330.32. The levy for operating expenses was 6.33 mills. In 1939 the total levy was \$66,059.27 with the levy for operating expenses 4.83 mills or a reduction of 1.5 mills or between 20 and 25 per cent from the 1938 levy. In addition in 1939, \$3,171 was levied to retire old bonds maturing in 1939. Bond issues to be met in the future will be much less, unless more bonds are voted for some purpose. The operating expenses for the library, the band, Red Cross, hospital, etc., was \$7,441 less in 1939 than it was in 1938.

In the years 1934 to 1937, inclusive, the city failed to collect water bills amounting to \$3,961. In 1938, the city collected \$112.94 of these delinquent bills, up to April 1, 1940. In the first three-quarters of the present fiscal year the city has collected \$777.44 of the overdue bills.

—Abilene, Kansas, *Chronicle*.

Boulder's City Manager Reports

EXPENDITURES of the city for general operation during 1939 were kept within the total budgeted allotments and within the cash receipts for the year.

Bonded debt of the city was reduced by payment of \$25,000 in Water Department bonds and \$6,000 in general obligation bonds.

From current collections of improvement district assessments, \$4,600 in bonds were redeemed at face value.

The Water Department installed 9,000 lineal feet of 22-inch enamel lined steel pipe in the water transmission line, the first section of a program to replace the old transmission main installed more than thirty years ago. The dam at Green Lake No. 2 was completed to its full decreed height of forty feet adding 210 acre feet of storage water to the system; 4,230 feet of cast-iron pipe were installed in the water distribution system.

The street department, with WPA participation, installed approximately 7,000 lineal feet of curb and gutter and constructed three concrete bridges to replace wooden structures over irrigation ditches. Fourteen blocks of streets and alleys were oil-surfaced. Fourteen blocks of streets were cut to paving grade also with WPA participation.

The installation of a short wave police radio, a modern record system, adequate photographic equipment, and reorganization of the department, has done much to raise the standard of the Police Department. The Junior Police Association, sponsored and organized by the Police Department in April, had a membership of 450 at the close of the year.

Despite the fact that the Fire Department in 1939 answered the greatest number of calls in its history, the per capita fire loss was 94 cents and the fire loss was only 4 per cent of the value of the property involved.

The supervised recreation program reached new heights in the number of participants.

On the tax levy of 11.2 mills based on assessed valuation of \$9,401,950

the city received a total of \$102,179, which represents a 97 per cent tax collection for the year. In 1938 the city received 97.7 per cent of the taxes levied. Water Department collections in 1939 were \$116,253, as compared with \$112,107 in 1938 the increase occurring mostly in meter collections for the summer quarter.

—From the letter of transmittal of City Manager H. C. McClintock of Boulder, Colorado, attached to annual report to the city council, as quoted in *Colorado Municipalities*.

A Splendid Record

THE annual report of the financial condition of the Town of Houlton at the end of the first year of administration under the council-manager form of government will come as a distinct shock to a large number of people who have become accustomed to the voluminous documents of past years. The report of the year 1939 is brief, clear-cut, concise. It is stripped of all excess verbiage. It features facts.

This same report must also be received with undisguised satisfaction by every taxpayer in Houlton. It is a report of a year of administration that has practiced sound economy, that has accomplished almost unbelievable savings, and that has come to the end of its twelve months of stewardship with unexpended balances in the town treasury exceeding \$31,000 and a net town debt reduction of more than \$54,000. The town debt now stands at the lowest point in eighteen years.

This, it seems to us, is brief enough for the sound judgment of the people of Houlton who last year saw fit to adopt a modern type of municipal administration . . .

Faced with an accumulation of debts as revealed by an audit of the financial condition of the town, the council and the manager were at once confronted by two conflicting demands. First, old bills had to be paid and, second, the tax rate should be reduced. These two objectives were as far apart as the poles. Yet the completion of one full year reveals that both have been attained. Payments of some \$54,000 have been made on old bills in the hands of the town and a lower tax rate for 1940 is forecast if budget committee recommendations are closely followed.

—Editorial, Houlton, Maine, *Pioneer-Times*

Contributors in Review

AFTER seven years in "everything from sawmills and lumber camps to wholesale silk houses, all over the country," **James Kirk Eads** (*Indiana Experiments with Central Count*) turned to scholarly life and produced in rapid succession a B.S., an A.M. (both Columbia), and a fellowship at the Institute of Politics of Indiana University and the National Municipal League. During the same period he found time to act as research consultant on real estate reorganization and securities to the New York Joint Legislative Committee on Interstate Coöperation, and to teach American government and public administration at Brooklyn College.

ON BOTH international affairs and problems of government in New Hampshire **Thorsten V. Kalijarvi** (*Town Meeting vs. Town Management*) is an expert. A New Englander by birth, he studied both here and abroad, has taught for seventeen years at the University of New Hampshire (professor of government now), and for two years held a Carnegie endowment fellowship in international law. His writings include *The Memel Statute* (1937), which was also published in German, and *The Government of New Hampshire* (1939). In 1938 Dr. Kalijarvi edited *The Problems of Taxation in New Hampshire*; in 1939 he edited the *Proceedings of the Second Institute of Public Affairs of the University of New Hampshire*.

NOW serving as consultant to the Governmental Research Division of the T. V. A., **Charles M. Kneier** (*Citizen Economy Movements—Why and How*) believes in combining his teaching at the University of Illinois with excursions into the non-academic world. When last heard from in the pages of this magazine—September 1939—he had been on leave from the university to organize the research department of the Illinois Legislative Council. Dr. Kneier has published books on public utilities in Illinois, on county government and administration, and on American city government.

THE University of Virginia granted a Ph.D. degree to **Edward Overman** (*Manager Government Boon to Virginia County*) in June of this year—his dissertation for the degree was *County Manager Government in Albemarle County, Virginia*. The same month he became a member of the staff of the Bureau of Public Administration of the University of Virginia, with the title of research assistant. Most of his work at the moment is concerned with a survey of rural housing—again in Albemarle County.

INCURABLE seeker of facts, **Miriam Roher** (*The Woman Who Woke Up a City*)—title of the article in this issue, not a description of its author—has contributed frequently to the REVIEW. A Northwestern University M.A. in government, Miss Roher was a member of the research staffs of the New York State Commission for the Revision of the Tax Laws and the Governor's committee for the preparation of background material for the New York State Constitutional Convention. She served also as a member of the staff of the Consultant Service of the National Municipal League during several surveys and was publications editor for the League until she recently won "The Public Service Fellowship" of

the Woman's Organization for National Prohibition Repeal, administered by Barnard College, which took her to the University of California at Berkeley in quest of a Ph.D.

AFTER writing his way through Los Angeles, San Francisco, Washington, D. C., New York City, the A. E. F. in France, post-war revolutions in Germany, Austria, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and Russia, **Frank J. Taylor** (*Spokane's Civi Horse Trader*) has settled down on the Pacific Coast. Before 1924 his employers were various newspapers and press associations. Since then he has free-lanced for such magazines as *Reader's Digest*, *Collier's*, *Saturday Evening Post*, *American Magazine*, *Better Homes and Gardens*, *Holiday*, *Sunset*, and others. He has also written four books on western subjects.

A BOOK and numerous articles in scholarly magazines attest to the interest of **Belle Zeller** (*Lawmaker—Legislator or Lobbyist*) in the phenomena of pressure politics. From 1926 to 1930 Dr. Zeller taught political science at New York City's Hunter College; then moved to Brooklyn College, where she has been chairman of the department of government and sociology since 1938. The book was *Pressure Politics in New York* (1937).

EDITORIALS

(Continued from page 517)

had a great deal of experience by now and a large mass of statistics is available. It should not be impossible, even though difficult, therefore, to develop minimum standards of relief for all sections of the country, some means of eliminating irregularities and fraud, a sound and equable division of costs

among national, state and local units of government, and to plan according to the long-term aspects of the problem. The fact that recent industrial activity already has removed many families from the relief rolls in some cities is likely to encourage the hope that relief is temporary. It will be advisable, therefore, to recognize that much of it is permanent and that much more calls for a definite plan of retraining and rehabilitation.

News in Review

(Continued from page 514)

themselves on a proposed initiative civil service amendment to the constitution of the state.¹ Some 212,000 signatures have now been obtained to the petitions calling for such a referendum, a number well above the total necessary.

ARTHUR W. BROMAGE
University of Michigan

Second Hatch Act Hits Local Patronage

On July 20 President Roosevelt signed the second Hatch bill, thus prohibiting active participation in partisan politics by non-federal employees who are paid partly or wholly out of federal funds. The Senate had previously accepted the amendments made by the House of Representatives, which had passed the bill by a vote of 243 to 122.

The act also provides that no person may contribute more than five thousand dollars to any political campaign; that no corporation may contribute directly or indirectly to any campaign fund or merchandising scheme for the raising of party funds; and limits the amount of money that may be spent by a political party to three million dollars.

New Hampshire Employees Form Organization

A growing unrest among government employees in New Hampshire is evident. The state has no merit system except the one developed for federal-aid agencies upon request of the federal government. Concord and Manchester both have unions of city employees. The latest development is an association

of state governmental employees, headed by Deputy Secretary of State Harry E. Jackson. While this organization is primarily social in nature, it is believed it will make itself felt when a merit system is discussed by the legislature next year.

LASHLEY G. HARVEY
University of New Hampshire

North Dakota Moves Toward County Home Rule

Under the constitutional amendment (ch. 112, Laws of 1939) adopted by the voters in the primary election held June 25, the North Dakota legislature is now enabled to provide for county consolidation, dissolution, or change in governmental form.

The adoption of the amendment marks a logical step in the growth and development of the state. The divergent needs of various parts of the state could no longer be met by the rigidly uniform structure of county government provided by the constitution. Sparsely populated areas found themselves burdened with excessive governmental machinery, and growing urban areas found the county government structure wholly inadequate to provide necessary services. The constitution specifically prohibited special legislation, and only slight modifications in governmental machinery were permitted to counties that varied in basic characteristics from the usual pattern.

The amendment provides that dissolution, consolidation, or change in the form of government can be effected only after a popular referendum in which 55 per cent of those voting on the issue favor such change. Optional forms are to be drafted by the legislative assembly, and at least one such

¹For a copy of the amendment see the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW for June 1940, p. 354.

form must provide for the manager plan. Any county will then be enabled to initiate a movement for adoption of one of the forms by either a two-thirds vote of the county legislative body or a petition signed by 15 per cent of the county electorate who voted for governor in the last preceding election.

ELWYN A. MAUCK
University of North Carolina

Manager Plan Sought in Many Cities

A referendum on Plan E (city manager and P. R.) will occur in **Cambridge, Massachusetts**, at the November 5 election, following the unanimous mandatory action of the city council in voting that the question be placed on the ballot. Two years ago the plan was defeated by Cambridge voters.

Lynn, Massachusetts, expects to file a Plan E petition within a short time which will contain more than double the number of signatures needed.

St. Louis Park, Minnesota, will vote on a manager charter on September 10.

The Board of Finance of the town of **East Hampton, Connecticut**, has for some time been discussing the town manager plan. The subject has also been presented at a meeting of the Board of Directors of the East Hampton Chamber of Commerce.

A petition containing 680 names, to submit to popular vote in **Johnstown, New York**, a charter amendment establishing city manager government, has been placed before the city council.

The city council of **Schenectady, New York**, has accepted petitions for a return to the old second-class city form of government, with mayor and aldermen, which preceded the adoption of city manager government in that city.

In **Raleigh, North Carolina**, where the

Junior Chamber of Commerce is championing a change from commission to council-manager government, it is expected that a referendum on the question, authorized by the 1939 legislature, will be held this fall, either on October first or later.

Kings Mountain, North Carolina, put manager government into effect on June 24. The first city manager took office on July 1.

In **New Bern, North Carolina**, petitions are being circulated to call an election on the question of converting the present aldermanic system of government to the city manager form. This is reported to be the first definite movement for the purpose in that city, although it has been discussed by various groups at different times.

Sponsors of the manager movement in **Columbus, Ohio**, have announced plans for the submission of a city manager proposal to the voters at the 1941 municipal election.

The Chamber of Commerce of **Niles, Michigan**, is campaigning for a manager charter.

In **Great Falls, Montana**, petitions for an election on the question of city manager government are being circulated by members of the Junior Chamber of Commerce. Fourteen committees, each covering two precincts, undertook a canvass of the entire city.

In **San Antonio, Texas**, where the city manager plan is a live issue, a charter referendum will be held this fall, as announced by the city auditor.

A petition for a November vote on the manager plan for **Santa Monica, California**, is reported.

Other cities interested in the possibility of a change to the manager plan include **Davis, California**; **Plainfield** and **West New York, New Jersey**; **Winnsboro, South Carolina**; and **Murray City, Utah**.

North Dakota Rejects State Reorganization

An initiative measure providing for reorganization of some of North Dakota's state departments was rejected at the primary election of June 25. Only about half the voters expressed an opinion on the proposition. The measure was sponsored by the North Dakota Taxpayers Association, but because of the importance and excitement of the war news, it proved impossible to carry on the campaign of education so essential to the success of measures of this kind.

The need for state reorganization still remains as great as ever, and sooner or later it will be necessary to discard some of the wasteful and ineffective operating practices now in use.

J. M. CATHCART, *Secretary*
North Dakota Taxpayers Association

GRA Meets at Princeton in September

The Governmental Research Association (5135 Cass Avenue, Detroit) will hold its 1940 conference at the Princeton Inn, Princeton, New Jersey, September 4-7.

CITIZEN ACTION

(Continued from page 515)

During the month of May we added 194 new members; and during June our membership passed one thousand.

An individually typed and personally signed letter of thanks goes to each new member with a membership card. A second card, listing our activities, asks the member to state on which committees he prefers to serve. New members are also called upon by our staff representative.

A full time staff man is assigned to membership work. He supervises all membership contacts, carrying our story

to members and prospects, smoothing over rough spots. He is the Municipal League's "ear to the ground." Two other men—one devoting his time to research and the other to publicity or public information—complete the staff.

Our work has just started and we can see **no ceiling to the membership** in an organization such as ours. With low dues, at the rate of five dollars and up per year, the second thousand members should be more easily secured than the first, and so on, possibly up to five thousand.

We intend to consolidate our gains as we go by **prompt elimination of "dead timber,"** and to continue selling members on their organization.

We find a growing willingness among members to do membership work for us as the subject is popularized and they are given definite and specific tasks to perform. If a man is asked to go get John Doe as a member, he is quite likely to try, but nobody pays much attention to a general request for every member to get a member.

It is my opinion that **membership work is an everyday job.** Persons resigning should be seen as promptly as possible, for a member saved is better than a new one. A member should learn that he cannot get out of the Municipal League without a struggle. Eight to ten prospects should be called upon every day, both by the staff man and by other members. These calls not only result in new members, but, what is vital in any organization, they keep it in close touch with the thinking of people on the outside. Criticism should be promptly reported to the officers, and alteration of programs should be constantly made in the light of public opinion, as interpreted back to the office through membership work.

Our average member pays in seven dollars. In addition to membership, we have a **subscription income which at**

the present is about twice as large as membership income. We expect to balance our subscription income with membership income. Regardless of how adequate our subscription income may be, we believe that the broadening of the base by the mobilization of a greater number of members is one of the fundamentals of success.

The hundreds of calls made upon prospects which result in "no sale" have done much to get public acceptance of the Municipal League. It has helped us interpret our program, and, on the other hand, it has been a great source of information which will help prevent the organization from dying of an inbreeding of ideas.

GLEN B. EASTBURN,
Executive Secretary

Municipal League of Seattle

South Bend Members Drawn from All Groups

Back in 1931 a group of South Bend businessmen, including the writer, became alarmed at the mounting storm of the depression and the apparent obliviousness to it of our local governmental officials, who were going full steam ahead with a spending program. Our first action was to go before the Board of County Commissioners and protest a large bond issue for suburban roads. We were greeted with bored politeness, but no results.

It became evident that the only thing which would impress these politicians was a demonstration of public sentiment by a broad cross-section of the taxpayers and homeowners of the community. We set out to form such an organization. It so happened that among those who felt as strongly as we did was a Polish priest, who became the first secretary of the association.

Meetings were held in schools and church halls in different sections of the

city, an organization—the South Bend Civic Planning Association—was formed with regional leaders, and with this organization and, perhaps, a little more realization on the part of county officials of the extent of the depression, our next representations to stop issuing bonds were successful.

The organization next turned its attention to the administration of poor relief. The township trustee in charge of this in 1931 was faced with a problem which he frankly admitted was beyond his experience and comprehension, as it was in other industrial sections of the country at that time, and he was glad to receive support and assistance from a nonpartisan group of citizens. Members of the association, particularly women, devoted considerable time at the relief office in actually helping to tide over the emergency until methods could be developed and a proper permanent professional staff organized. We have been told by visitors that the relief setup in South Bend is, even today, rated above the average.

In 1932 a real estate reassessment was called for by law. At the direct insistence of the Civic Planning Association a scientific method of appraising land and buildings, similar to that in Cleveland, Detroit, and other progressive communities, was installed in South Bend. Today, after eight years, the Indiana State Board of Tax Commissioners is making an intensive study of the South Bend system, with the hope of adopting it generally over the entire state.

In 1934 the association actively supported the Republican ticket, feeling that the type of government for which the association stood demanded a change in administration; and for the first time in twelve years a Republican administration was elected locally.

Many of our members now felt that the job was done. But it soon became

apparent that the Republican administration gave no better government than its Democratic predecessor, and it was inclined to take us for granted since we had helped to elect it. When we started to criticize the Republicans as actively as we had criticized their predecessors, we lost a number of members who apparently had joined for political reasons.

It became necessary, therefore, to rebuild our entire organization on a more permanent and rational basis. We are happy to report that this has been done over the past six years and today our general membership is much broader, more accurately representative of the homeowners of the community as a whole, and much more solidly informed on civic matters than ever before. We now have over 1,700 members in South Bend and adjoining Mishawaka, with dues paid for the year 1940. About 350 of these are women who participate actively in the Women's Civic Club, which holds monthly meetings, additional neighborhood meetings in various sections of the community, card parties, teas, rummage sales, and other social and money-raising functions.

We have always maintained a strong membership among foreign-born homeowners, and particularly among Polish-Americans. We estimate that our membership is evenly divided between the two major political parties and that at least one-third are factory workers and members of labor unions.

The program and basic policies of the association are developed annually according to a rather elaborate procedure prescribed in the by-laws.

The general membership has complete power to revise and amend the program and policy. Directors and executive officers are empowered to act on association and governmental matters within the limits of the program and policy laid down by the membership, but even so, when time permits, it is

customary to place all important decisions within the program before the general membership at regular monthly meetings.

A member who contributes \$1.00 a year has the same vote as the member who may contribute \$50.00.

The association has fourteen directors and its legislative council, consisting of directors, committee chairmen, and district leaders, now has 141 members.

Back in 1937 we began looking around for a permanent home and in July of 1939 we moved into a large old house with ample parking space and convenient to the downtown district.

In this home we maintain our offices, meeting space for the various branches of our organization, social functions, etc. We have a luncheon club which meets weekly at headquarters to hear speakers on governmental questions and discuss problems before the community. An annual membership drive is conducted in October of each year, ending with a dance and card party at the largest hall in the community. We estimate that during the course of the year half of our 1,700 members attend at least one meeting or function of the organization and to that extent participate in its activity besides paying dues and receiving monthly bulletins.

The exact effectiveness of an organization like ours is difficult to judge accurately, but we do know that for at least one recent year (1936) the United States Census Department's *Financial Statistics of Cities* showed South Bend as having the lowest per capita governmental cost of any northern city over 100,000 population. Last fall the 1940 budgets and tax rates as officially advertised were reduced \$1,040,000, or over 15 per cent, by reviewing bodies after citizen hearing and appeal.

The basic theory behind the organization and, indeed, the first plank in our program, is that the test of every policy

shall be that it benefits the average homeowner.

Not to be forgotten is the fact that homeowners in South Bend have a majority of the total votes and are the only group paying direct taxes of any amount of which that can be said. We feel that businessmen and other property-owning groups should realize the position of the homeowners in this respect and go along with them in the few instances where their immediate business interests may appear to conflict with those of homeowners.

Smart politicians have many times found it possible to place before us situations where we have had either to forsake the homeowner or step on the toes of some business interest which, it was felt, was, or should be, contributing to our activity. Possibly the secret of our continuation has been that we have managed to meet such temptations and go down the line for the homeowner.

In some cases these businessmen have been big enough to understand and to maintain their support, although we opposed their immediate interest. In some cases they have dropped out, and in some of those cases the financial loss to the association has been material; but not a few of those who dropped out because our demands cost them a little business have returned to membership.

We feel that by meeting this problem squarely we have greatly strengthened the effectiveness of the organization and have also helped to foster better basic attitudes in community life as a whole.

We see around us on all sides citizens devoting a great deal of time and effort to churches, lodges, clubs, charitable organizations, and other activities from which they expect to obtain no reward except the satisfaction of doing constructive jobs. Our nine years of experience in South Bend leads us to believe that people are glad to exert

the same sort of activity in governmental matters, once they are sure that the movement is sincerely directed to the ends of good government and good citizenship.

FRANK J. MURRAY,

Chairman, Board of Directors
South Bend Civic Planning
Association, Inc.

EDITOR'S NOTE.—Departments on county and township government, taxation and finance, and proportional representation omitted this month.

SPOKANE'S CIVIC HORSE TRADER

(Continued from page 534)

summer. He lined up CCC boys to landscape unsightly railroad and highway fills. He built scout camps, golf courses, shooting ranges, walking trails, restored the historic Hudson Bay and Astor trading posts. He got ugly bridges across the river replaced by graceful spans. He saved the region's geologic wonders, such as Deep River Canyon, remarkable for its volcanic flows and glacial scraping.

To accomplish these civic feats White joined every association and club in town. "I went to all the meetings," he explains, "and by outtalking everybody there I got them all working with me." The Chamber of Commerce, the Advertising Club, the Boy Scouts, the Izaak Walton League, the churches, have civic beautification committees upon which White can call.

On a map Aubrey White pointed out the areas he had set down in his bookstore days for recreation sites. Nearly every acre is in the park system now.

Books in Review

EDITED BY ELSIE S. PARKER

Municipal Government and Administration in Alabama. By Weldon Cooper. University, Bureau of Public Administration, University of Alabama, 1940. ix, 252. (no price).

Students of government will be pleased with this survey of municipal government in Alabama conducted by the Bureau of Public Administration of the University of Alabama and the Tennessee Valley Authority under the direction of Weldon Cooper. In gathering together a digest of constitutional and statutory provisions and local ordinances applying to the operation of municipal government, a considerable service has been performed. More significant, however, is the evaluation of the law and practice of municipal administration as it exists in Alabama today.

The book traces the recent and rapid growth of the state from one predominantly rural to one facing the manifold problems of urbanism. Following a discussion of the growth of the population of urban areas in the state, the author treats the legal status of municipalities, government and politics, municipal administration, finance, civil service, municipal functions and services, and intergovernmental relations. In closing, Mr. Cooper lists about a dozen conclusions which he considers significant.

For this analysis of municipal government in Alabama nearly all incorporated cities and towns have been considered. The predominant means of carrying on the functions of government have been discussed at length, while unique and satisfactory solutions have been merely mentioned. On the basis of information collected, a num-

ber of tables have been prepared which indicate the trends and conditions of government. The book is well equipped with reference footnotes and is adequately indexed.

The study reveals the lag in techniques of administration employed by cities and towns in Alabama. Foremost is the lack of responsible administration. The weak mayor and commission types of municipal government are used almost to the exclusion of other forms, in spite of considerable opinion in favor of the strong executive. Cities and towns of Alabama are directed for the most part by boards, commissions, and council committees—forms of government now outmoded because of their complexity, lack of responsibility, ineffectiveness, inefficiency, sluggish action, and conflicts in authority.

This same retardation, perhaps common to many southern states, is noted not only in administrative forms, but also in standards of financial operation, civil service, extent of municipal services, and in recording and reporting. The book clearly indicates this, but at the same time it points the way to a general improvement of municipal government through means that have already been tried and found successful in coping with the problems of an expanding urban population.

ROBERTS CHICKERING
Indiana University

Reemployment. Report of the Governor's Commission on Reemployment. Sacramento, California, 1939. 95 pp.

Thanks to John Steinbeck's *Grapes of Wrath*, the relief problem of California has received more dramatic publicity than that of any other state. This

study is therefore of particular interest as a partial answer to a nationally known challenge. What is to be done with the unemployed and the dispossessed?

The report of the Governor's Commission, charged in March 1939 with the task of presenting a long-term plan for dealing with re-employment, is brief and to the point, for all its ninety-five pages. There is a courageous appraisal of the permanence of the relief problem—and a refutation of the notion that war will put an end to all our troubles. A five-point program is presented.

This is hardly a complete, definitive answer to the problem of relief. There are many conspicuous gaps, such as the cursory reference to the important problem of vocational training and re-training and the brief unimplemented nod in the direction of the merit system. Nevertheless, the report is admirable for its clarity on the subjects which are discussed. Simply as an example of workmanlike report writing, this pamphlet is to be recommended. It is also heartening to know that the relief problem is being considered from a long-term point of view by our state governments, which till now have tended to lag stubbornly behind federal nudging.

M. R.

Pennsylvania Government, State and Local (revised edition). By Jacob Tanger and Harold F. Alderfer. Harrisburg, Pennsylvania Book Service, 1939. x, 467 pp. \$3.00.

Professors Tanger and Alderfer have now revised their study of Pennsylvania, first written some years ago, in order to incorporate the many changes which have occurred since 1933. Basically no change in governmental structure has been made but "at least the complexion of certain phases of government in Pennsylvania" has been

altered considerably. And of the book this may also be said. The authors have chosen to change both type and form of presentation much to the volume's improvement.

The book is designed for use in the public schools and is, therefore, limited in its scope. The work remains encyclopedic and descriptive. One could wish that more attention had been given to interpretation of trends and tendencies. For example, the ever increasing governmental regulation of business is revealed by a listing of departments and duties, with a single short paragraph serving to cover a statement of the causes and the changed national philosophy which made such governmental action imperative.

Such lacks are more than balanced by the excellent treatment given in Chapters I and II to "The People" and "Nominations and Elections." Here the authors have set forth not only the qualifications of citizens and electors but also the means whereby such status may be gained and retained, the formation and purpose of political parties, and the possibilities of citizen action and informed participation in government.

The authors might have included the Pennsylvania Economy League among the agencies found listed on page nineteen, because of its significant work in watching local administration.

The final chapter on "Tendencies in Pennsylvania Government" is excellent and might well serve as a model for studies of other states.

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How Should Government Be Financed? By Betsy Knapp. Washington, D. C., National League of Women Voters, 1939. 49 pp. Twenty-five cents.

The League of Women Voters has made another contribution to scientific citizenship in this pamphlet which is

intended as an aid to its study groups on taxation. A glossary on tax terms and a study outline flanked by textual explanations and bibliographies comprise the whole of the slender volume. It is divided into six sections: a summary of taxes in the United States, the property tax, state and federal taxes, tax conflicts, grants-in-aid, and conclusions. Even for those who are not planning to carry on a systematic study of taxation, Miss Knapp's outline will be of value in clearing trails through the taxation forest.

M. R.

Additional Books and Reports Received

Counties

County Government and Administration. A Manual and Syllabus. By Russell H. Ewing. Denver, Colorado, School of Commerce, Accounts, and Finance, University of Denver, 1940. 103 pp. mimeo. \$1.00.

County Reorganization. Denver, Colorado, Department of Government Management, School of Commerce, Accounts, and Finance, University of Denver, 1940. 28 pp. Ten cents.

Local Government in Cheboygan County. By Robert S. Ford and Frank M. Landers. Ann Arbor, Bureau of Government, University of Michigan, 1940. 28 pp. Ten cents.

The Lansing Region and Its Tributary Town-Country Communities. By J. F. Thaden. East Lansing, Section of Sociology, Michigan State College, 1940. 50 pp.

Crime

Penal System—A Reflection of Our Lives and Our Customs. Atlanta, Citizens' Fact Finding Movement of Georgia. 36 pp. Ten cents.

Crime Control—State Laws, 1935-1938, inclusive. Washington, D. C., United States Superintendent of Documents, 1940. 77 pp. Ten cents.

Education

Development of the County-Unit School District in Utah: A study in adaptability. By Edward Allen Bateman. New York City, Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1940. ix, 98 pp. \$1.60.

Recent Trends in Higher Education in the United States: With Special Reference to Financial Support for Private Colleges and Universities. By Trevor Arnett. New York City, General Education Board, 1940. xii, 80 pp.

State Control of Public School Finance. By Raleigh Warren Holmstedt. Bloomington, School of Education, Indiana University, 1940. 71 pp. Fifty cents.

Fire Insurance

Fire Insurance Rates. By Cornelius D. Scully. Washington, D. C., United States Conference of Mayors, 1940. 14 pp. Twenty-five cents.

Stretching the City Fire Insurance Dollar. (Report on Madison, Wisconsin, and Winnetka, Illinois.) Chicago, American Municipal Association, 1940. 12 pp. mimeo. Fifty cents.

Housing

4,000,000 Tenants. A Study of English Public Housing Management. By Kenneth R. Kidd. Chicago, Managers' Division, National Association of Housing Officials, 1940. viii, 91 pp. \$2.00.

Housing Yearbook 1940. Edited by Coleman Woodbury. Chicago, National Association of Housing Officials, 1940. vii, 296 pp. \$3.00.

The Law of Public Housing. By William Ebenstein. Madison, University of Wisconsin Press, 1940. ix, 150 pp. \$1.75.

What Does the Housing Program Cost? Washington, D. C., United States Housing Authority, 1940. 31 pp.

Labor

Newark Labor Relations Board, Second Annual Report, October 1, 1938-September 30, 1939. Newark, New Jersey, Newark Labor Relations Board, 1940. 23 pp. mimeo.

The TVA Labor Relations Policy at Work. Successful cooperation between public power and organized labor in the public interest. By Judson King. Washington, D. C., National Popular

Government League, 1940. 59 pp. Twenty-five cents.

Legislatures

Electric Roll-Call Devices in Legislative Bodies. Springfield, Research Department, Illinois Legislative Council, 1940. 17 pp. mimeo.

Libraries

Library Classification and Sample Bibliography of Traffic Engineering Materials. By Leslie Williams. New Haven, Connecticut, Bureau for Street Traffic Research, Yale University, 1940. 58 pp. mimeo. One dollar.

The Library Survey, Problems and Methods. By E. W. McDiarmid, Jr. Chicago, American Library Association, 1940. xv, 243 pp. \$3.50.

Peace Problems

European Plans for World Order. By William P. Maddox. Philadelphia, The American Academy of Political and Social Science, 1940. 44 pp. Fifteen cents.

Problems of Federal Union. By John H. Humphreys. London, Proportional Representation Society, 1940. 8 pp. One penny.

Public Welfare and Relief

Administration of Relief in New York City. Report to Honorable F. H. LaGuardia. New York City, Department of Investigation, 1940. xxiv, 345 pp.

Digest of State Public Welfare Legislation 1939. By Marietta Stevenson and Alice MacDonald. Chicago, American Public Welfare Association, 1939. xii, 262 pp. mimeo. \$1.25.

Facts about Unemployment. By John N. Webb and Joseph C. Bevis. Washington, D. C., United States Government Printing Office, 1940. 34 pp.

Financing Economic Security in the United States. By William Withers. New York, Columbia University Press, 1939. x, 210 pp. \$2.75.

Public Welfare—Appraisal and Proposals for Georgia. Atlanta, Citizens' Fact Finding Movement of Georgia, 1940. 35 pp. Ten cents.

Report on Progress of the WPA Program. Washington, D. C., Work Projects Administration, 1939. xi, 185 pp.

Social Legislation. By Helen I. Clarke. New York City, D. Appleton-Century Company, 1940. xv, 655 pp. \$4.50.

Social Welfare Exhibits, the World's Fair of 1940 in New York. New York City, World's Fair Department of Welfare, 1940. 17 pp. mimeo.

State and Local Public Welfare Agencies. An organizational and functional analysis of state and local agencies administering public welfare functions. By Marietta Stevenson and Alice MacDonald. Chicago, American Public Welfare Association, 1939. 109 pp. mimeo. Sixty cents.

Public Works

Programming Public Works. Nashville, Tennessee State Planning Commission, 1940. vi, 149 pp. mimeo. One dollar.

Public Works Engineers' Yearbook 1940. Including the Proceedings of the 1939 Public Works Congress, Pittsburgh, Penna., October 9-11, 1939. Chicago, American Public Works Association, 1940. viii, 338 pp. \$3.50.

Purchasing

Joint Purchasing and Its Possibilities for Certain Local Governments in Pennsylvania. Philadelphia, Pennsylvania Government Administration Service, 1940. 17 pp.

Purchasing in Newark. Newark, New Jersey, Bureau of Municipal Research, 1940. viii, 50 pp.

Recreation

Introduction to Community Recreation. Edited by George D. Butler for the National Recreation Association. New York City, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1940. xiv, 547 pp. \$3.50.

Recreation Legislation of Tennessee. Compiled by Leo J. Zuber. Nashville, Tennessee State Planning Commission, 1939. ix, 40 pp. mimeo.

The Importance of Public Recreation in a Large Industrial Center. By H. E. Varga. 11 pp. (Apply to author, Director of Public Properties, Cleveland, Ohio.)

Traffic Regulation

Moving the Masses in Modern Cities. New York City, American Transit Association, 1940. 32 pp. Ten cents.